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AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

For rates of Advertising and Club terms see Fourth page.

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Annual Business Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held at Dodworth's Hall on Wednesday, May 12th, the President, WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., in the chair.

The meeting was called to order at about half past ten o'clock, and the president stated that the first business in order was to provide for the election of officers, by the appointment of a nominating committee or otherwise.

On motion of Mr. Edward M. Davis, of Philadelphia, the old Board of Officers was reelected, as follows:

President,
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Vice-Presidents,
GERRIT SMITH, New York,
GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D., New York,
ANNA E. DICKINSON, Pennsylvania,
MARY GREW, Pennsylvania,
JOHN G. WHITTIER, Massachusetts,
BENJAMIN SNOW, JR., Massachusetts,
PETER LIBBEY, Maine,
NATHANIEL WHITE, New Hampshire,
ELIZABETH B. CHACE, Rhode Island,
ABBY SMITH, Connecticut,
LUCY STONE, New Jersey,
THOMAS GARRETT, Delaware,
MARIUS R. ROBINSON, Ohio,
WILLIAM HOPKINS, Indiana,
THOMAS CHANDLER, Michigan,
CAROLINE L. MORGAN, Wisconsin,
ALONZO J. GROVER, Illinois,
REV. CALEB GREEN, Minnesota,
L. N. Holmes, Iowa,
DR. J. N. HAWKS, South Carolina,
N. C. DENNETT, Florida,
CORA DANIELS TAPPAN, Louisiana,
JOHN OLIVER, Virginia,
PROF. J. K. H. WILCOX, D. C.

Corresponding Secretary,
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

Recording Secretary,
AARON M. POWELL.

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ELIZABETH GAY,
JOHN T. SARGENT,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL,
SARAH J. NOWELL,
CAROLINE R. PUTNAM,
REV. R. CANNOR,
ABBY K. FOSTER,
E. D. HUDSON,
E. M. DAVIS,
ROBERT PURVIS,
A. M. POWELL,
CHARLES L. REASON.

The President then read the first resolution of the series proposed at the public meeting yesterday, by the executive committee, and it was adopted, as follows:

Resolved, That we look back with profound gratitude on all the events of the last nine years; seeing clearly how effectually all things have worked together for the promotion of justice and securing impartial liberty—and we recognize with especial satisfaction the vast stride which the Nation has made within the last twelve months.

The second resolution was then read, as follows:

Resolved, That we see in the XVth Amendment proposed to the National Constitution, the cap-stone and completion of our movement;—the fulfillment of our pledge to the Negro race: since it secures to them equal political rights with the white race, or, if any single right be still doubtful, places it in such circumstances that they can easily achieve it; and we urge upon every abolitionist the utmost possible exertion to make sure of a speedy ratification of this indispensible guaranty: and, if it be necessary to such result, we beg Congress to carve as many States out of Texas as will put the ratification beyond question.

THE PRESIDENT.—The friends will remember that Mr. Senator Wilson said, what is the very gist of this resolution, that if any single right is doubtful, this amendment places them in such a position that they can easily achieve it. A race that holds in its hands one half the votes of South Carolina, can easily dictate to the other half that it shall be voted for as well as vote; and there is no Southern State where the mass of colored voters is not sufficient, within twelve months, to secure that result. In the Northern States, it might take longer, but in Ohio, 25,000 colored voters—and there are probably from 15 to 25,000—could easily in a close contest, dictate that condition to one or the other of the contending parties. I am very confident that there are States in the Union which would hold, under their own constitutions, that a voter naturally presupposes the right to be voted for. Although that would not be universal, there would be States where that principle would be admitted.

MRS. FOSTER.—It seems to me that the point is this: that the voter is the principal, and shall he not be able to dictate to the agent? Is not the creator greater than the created?

THE PRESIDENT.—Then we retain the right to carve four States out of Texas. You remember how strongly, as abolitionists, we protested against the annexation of Texas; we now "see the engineer hoist with his own petard." It may not be necessary to do it, but we retain the right to do it, if it is necessary. Connecticut met yesterday, and Senator Wilson says there is no doubt that Connecticut, within a fortnight, will ratify the Amendment. Rhode Island, which is a little more doubtful, meets the last Wednesday of this month. If we carry Rhode Island, we then add two more to the twenty already ratifying States. New Hampshire meets the first of June, and that will give us 23. Vermont meets in September. There is no doubt she will ratify, which will make 24. Mr. Wilson says Congress will never admit either Georgia, Texas, Virginia or Mississippi, without preliminary ratification, which will give us 28 States, before the first of January, and we need 27 3-4.

The question was then put, and the second resolution adopted.

The President read the third resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That we hail with cordial welcome the wise and statesmanlike words of the President, in his Inaugural, commending this Amendment to immediate ratification, as also his auspicious movement toward impartial liberty by putting colored men into important and honorable offices.

The *Tribune* observes this morning, with a singular obliviousness to events, that this is the first time an Anti-Slavery meeting ever praised a President. I thought we had some little reason to praise President Lincoln once or twice during his incumbency.

MR. DAVIS.—I hope you will not hurry those resolutions through. There are several of our friends in the back part of the room whom we should be glad to hear. Mr. Turner, of Georgia, from whom we did not hear yesterday, is present, and Mr. Simms also.

MR. A. M. POWELL.—I hope Mr. Turner will come forward and address the meeting.

THE PRESIDENT.—Mr. Turner is one of the expelled members of the Georgia Legislature,—expelled because guilty of a skin not colored like the Democrats.

SPEECH OF H. M. TURNER.

Mr. President and Members of the Anti-Slavery Society,—I am sorry that I am not prepared, this morning, to address you. I had looked forward to this meeting with a great deal of pleasure, and intended to make such representations of the true status of Georgia, and of the condition of the Republican party, there, as I hoped would enlist your sympathies, and lead you to give us the aid of your influence with the Congress of the United States, to induce them to come to our relief. Since my arrival here, however, I have been quite ill, and I am therefore not prepared to address you this morning. However, as you have invited me to the stand, I will make a few remarks, if it is your pleasure. (Calls of "Go on.")

I congratulate you, ladies and gentlemen, on the great results that have crowned your labors. I have long read of the Anti-Slavery Society. I have read much about the distinguished President, Mr. Phillips, and other distinguished personages, that I have had the pleasure of seeing since my arrival here. One might have thought, from reading the newspapers, and judging from them not only of your character, but of your personal appearance, that you resemble what our Southren friend thought the Yankees looked like—monsters with great horns. I find, however, that you embrace the purest specimens of humanity; I believe that your ideas are the purest ideas, and that your conception of right and justice is the grandest that has ever dwelt upon the American soil. All that you want, all you have labored for, is set forth in the Bible, and all that you contend for is what God has taught us, that we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us. What you are laboring for, He will bring to pass, not after you are dead, but while most of you shall live, so that you, like Simeon of old may say, "Mine eyes have seen thy salvation. Now let me depart in peace."

Much was said yesterday, on the question whether this Society should be continued or not. Many able arguments were adduced, proving that the time had not arrived when you should disband. I heartily concur in the idea that work yet remains to be done. Slavery as an organized institution has been destroyed. The fetters have been stricken from the limbs of the slave, so far as their physical, locomotive powers are concerned; but the relics of slavery still fetter our rights. A man who is a freeman in this country or any other country, without he is clothed with the aegis of the laws that surround him, I regard as an outlaw, and as exposed to the prejudice, to the malice, to the hate, to the abuse and to the outrage of all around him. Everybody sees the relics of slavery all about him. I learn that they are less manifest at the East, but I have never been any further east than New York. But the further you go south, the more do you see of the relics of slavery. Men are all the time looking back over their shoulders, instead of turning their faces forward and keeping pace with the grand march of events, as they daily occur. In our section of the country, people are all the time harping upon the old construction of the Constitution, all the time digging up, as it were, the bones of Calhoun, and trying to resuscitate them again; and the fact is, that slavery, so far as its idea is concerned, so far as its theory is concerned, has not yet been swept from the country. The escutcheon of our nation has not been washed clean from the corrupting, the damning effects of that institution; and until it is done, the work of this noble Society is not accomplished; and I believe that God will hold up your hands and give you success, so long as you hold together as an organized body for the accomplishment of that grand object.

We meet the relics of slavery in the railroad cars, in the churches, and everywhere, but above all, we meet them when we come up for civil and political rights. Whenever a negro steps forward and says to this nation, "When I was a slave, you treated me as a slave, and I submitted to slave laws, but now I am a freeman, and I want all the rights that God gave me when he breathed into me the breath of life, stamped upon my face his image," he at once arouses all of the baser passions, all the spite and all the venom that might actuate fiends, if they were let loose from the dark dungeons of pandemonium. I tell you, until this spirit is done away, the freedom of the black man is only the actual, not practical. We want freedom actualized, we want it to be a fact. The war is now going on to determine whether it shall be a fact, or whether we shall have merely nominal freedom, locomotive liberty, to go from this State to the other State, or from this part of the world to another part of the world, without the rights of a citizen, protected by the laws of the land.

Allow me now to turn your attention in another direction, and ask your favor for our Republicans in the State of Georgia. I presume you have heard much of our condition. The newspapers have been teeming with statements from that part of the country. The Democratic papers, upon the one side, have been lauding the black and criminal deeds of that vicious conclave falsely called the Legislature of Georgia, while the Republican papers have been giving in detail, as far as they could learn the facts, the outrages and persecutions that have been heaped upon the members of the Republican party of that State. I presume you know, to some extent, the history of reconstruction in Georgia; but allow me to say, that we partially reconstructed our State at one time, and it would have been fully reconstructed had Gen. Meade stood square, as a Union soldier should have stood, and, if he gave his influence to either party, given it in favor of the Republican party. Gen. Meade came to Georgia by the appointment of Mr. Johnson, when he removed Gen. Pope, who had a good heart, but who was deterred from doing his duty, to a great extent, because Mr. Johnson held a sword over his head every moment. When Gen. Meade got there, we thought we were going to have a true friend. But he attempted to stand so straight between the parties that he leaned over towards the Democrats. When our last election came off, he did not give his moral influence in behalf of the Republican party, as he should have done; and although men were denied their seats, to which they were rightfully entitled, by a false and corrupt counting of the votes, he has never corrected the evil.

When the Legislature met in Atlanta, the House of Representatives had a majority of Democrats, the Senate had a majority of Republicans. Things went on for a few weeks peacefully, and when we attempted to elect two Senaators, the Democrats offered to send a certain colored man there, provided that six colored men would help them elect a Democrat. But the black men could not see that point. We did not intend to send a black man to the United States Senate, if he had to work his way through a shower of hisses and curses from the nation; and we knew that every Republican in the country would scorn and loathe such conduct in us, though we did succeed in getting a colored man into the Senate of the United States. When they found they could not corrupt us they went to work on a few so-called white Republicans, and succeeded in bribing or in influencing in some way enough to send two conservatives, if not Democrats, to the United States Senate. One of them is Hon. Joshua Hill. He has been said to be a Republican, but all he has done for reconstruction or for the Republican party in Georgia, is to deliver one speech in favor of Gen. Grant, about half an hour long. If the Hon. Joshua Hill has done anything else, I must have been asleep when he did it, and I think every other Republican in the State must have been asleep.

When they had succeeded in electing Mr. Hill and Mr. Miller,—a Democrat, but regarded by some as a conservative Republican,—the idea came up that they could expel the black members, and they commenced at once to bring to their aid all the spite against the negro on the one hand, and on the other hand to bribe or decoy as many so-called Republicans as they could to go with them for our expulsion. They silenced every black man's mouth, and decided that he could not cast a vote where his own interests were at stake. That threw the whole matter into the hands of the Democratic party, and after it had been discussed for two weeks, they succeeded in voting us out.

Many persons have asked me why we did not stay there and contend. This some of us had intended to do. I had told them that the man who attempted to put me out of that legislative hall, I intended to lay him cold in death! Some few colored men were willing to endorse that; others thought differently. But we found they did not intend to try to expel us by force; that they had concluded, rather than to have any row, they would let us come in and occupy our seats, but they would not count our votes or recognize anything we should say or do. As soon as we discovered that they intended to play that game upon us, we thought the better plan would be to walk out of doors, shake the dust from our feet, and write *Infamy* upon the brows of such wicked and perjured traitors to God and to man. (Applause).

Mrs. Foster said, a few moments ago, that the creator was greater than the created. That is the argument we put forth in that Legislature. If black men have the right to cast a vote, to send white and black men to the Legislature, are they not greater than the men they send? It does not require any argument to establish that fact. But what do men of that stamp care about logic, or honor, or veracity, when a question involving the rights of the black man is at stake? I believe some of them absolutely think they discharge a moral duty, perform an act of service to God and to the country, and to their dead friends, they talk so much about, who died for the "lost cause," when they do anything to keep the black man down and to exterminate Republicanism from the land.

Oh, how I felt this morning when I read in *The Tribune* that the Hon. Joseph Adkins, a gray-headed, fine looking man, and the purest man we had in Georgia, had fallen a victim to the assassin! A man against whom the world could not bring one charge. His character was as spotless as the sky, when there is not a cloud to be seen floating in the heavens. Where is Mr. Adkins today? Murdered—drenched in his own blood, because he would not be bribed to go back upon the men who elected him to office.

A week or so ago, Dr. Ayres, a man 72 or 73 years of age, his hair as white as snow, was murdered. He had lived in Georgia for years, was a consistent Union man during the war, and the first man in that section of country who opened a school for colored people after the close of the war. He had received notice again and again, as Mr. Adkins had, that if he returned to his home he would be assassinated; but, hoping that the Lord above would protect him, he went back, and God for some wise purpose, I suppose, has suffered that pure sacrifice to be offered, that his blood may purge and wash away the sins of that wicked State.

Dr. Ayres is gone, Mr. Adkins is gone, Mr. Ashburn is gone, and I could not begin to tell you the number of colored man who have gone. They have gone to a God who will do a better part by them than they could have hoped to have enjoyed in this life.

What I want to ask this Anti-Slavery Society to do is to join with us in Georgia in urging upon Gen. Grant the importance of issuing some kind of proclamation giving the military commanders at the South such orders as will protect us. I believe I know what could be done, but the question is, whether it is best to dictate or hint a plan to the President. I hope, ladies and gentlemen, that your sympathy with our cause, and with our sufferings, will induce you to lend us your influence upon the Executive of the nation, to bring his attention, at least, to our situation, and induce him to give us some protection; otherwise, before the dreaded hand of Congress is brought to bear in our defence, I may be cold in death, Mr. Simms may be dead, and God knows how many others may be lying in their graves by the time Congress convenes again, and its influence is brought to bear in our defence.

Mr. Turner concluded by making an earnest appeal for assistance in rebuilding his church in Macon, recently destroyed by an incendiary fire, which was a total loss, the inrurance having run out only the day before, and the customary notice of its expiration not having been given.

THE PRESIDENT.—Should you feel your life to be safe if you were in your own house?

MR. TURNER.—There has been so much said about remarks that I have made, that I fear to answer the question. But I will tell you this, that no Republican is safe in Georgia, outside of Atlanta, and some other cities.

MRS. FOSTER.—I suppose none of us doubt that ultimately the colored people will vote without let or hindrance, but we are sorry to have a long conflict. If the colored people can have the freedom of the ballot, we have no doubt that in a very short period they will be able to dictate as to who shall hold office. I want to ask Mr. Turner whether the colored people in the rural districts of his State, can cast their votes without intimidation? Are they not obliged, for the sake of getting employment, which is necessary for the support of themselves and families, to submit to the dictation of their employers?

MR. TURNER.—For about three weeks before an election in Georgia, I suppose the most fearful pressure is brought to bear upon the colored people that was ever known in the history of any voting people. In the first place, every imaginable kind of threat is resorted to, and then all kinds of bribes and promises. The Northern Democratic papers have harped a great deal about the radicals, offering the negroes a mule and forty acres of land. It is false, in every instance; but on the other side, they have offered houses and land, and every imaginable thing. But the first colored man is yet to be found who has accepted a bribe. The next week after the first election we had in Georgia, the whole town was flooded, almost, with men and women who had been discharged from their work. Of course, a great many colored persons have not the moral stamina, the trust in God, to see themselves and their wives and children turned out of doors, with no money, no employment, no land that they can claim as their own, as the consequence of their vote; but the great bulk of them walk up to the ballot-box and deposit their ballot, and say they will vote the Republican ticket, and stand by the party that defended and freed them. Just in proportion as they get money and get land do they become more independent. A man who goes to the South and tells the colored people, "Come and work for me, and vote as you please," can get more laborers than he can get land to cultivate or money to pay them with. They will flock to him from every direction. All they want is, to be able to give a free expression of their opinion at the ballot-box, without being annoyed three or four weeks beforehand, or perhaps turned off without their pay.

ROBERT PURVIS.—From some facts that have come to my knowledge in connection with the temptations that have been offered to members of Southern Legislatures, I have been led to think that they have not had so much virtue as to have been able to resist those temptations. Our friend made a statement just now which seemed to me too sweeping—that under no circumstances whatever could any bribe affect a colored man. It may be true in regard to Georgia; but I think it is not true in regard to colored members of the Legislature of South Carolina.

MR. TURNER.—Let me explain. I have said that there was not money enough in the State of Georgia to buy a solitary colored member of the Georgia Legislature, and I say so now. I say that no inducement that could be offered could induce them to go back on the Republican party; at least, so long as the Republican party stands by them, which I hope it will always do. The terrible pressure which has been brought to bear on the colored people in the rural districts has in a few instances compelled colored men, if not to vote the Democratic ticket, not to vote at all.

MR. PURVIS.—I think that, as a general thing, the colored people throughout the South, wherever their rights were concerned, have stood remarkably firm; but I do not want too much virtue ascribed to the colored race. I would like to ask Mr. Turner if he knows whether the members of the South Carolina Legislature have stood as firmly against these temptations as the Georgia members.

MR. TURNER.—There have been some criticisms on the conduct of one colored member there, Rev. R. H. Kain, with what foundation I am not prepared to say. I am confident of one thing: that in no instance has a colored member ever joined the Democratic party or done anything knowingly that he thought would be for the interest of the Democratic party. There is such a large number of colored members in the South Carolina Legislature, that they differ as a natural consequence, as to the policy of this or that measure, and consequently the friends of each side have accused the other of recreancy, or treachery, or something of that sort.

SPEECH OF JAMES M. SIMMS.

I would not claim too much, as our friend Purvis has said, for our people; but, as a general thing, they have stood stronger than I thought they would. Yet there are some exceptions in my own city. We had a majority there of colored voters of about 175. The Democrats knew that, and their great object was to divide us, if possible, and thus secure the balance of power, and they left no effort untried to do so. They succeeded in getting up what they called in the newspapers, "a large Democratic club of colored men"—numbering ten or eleven out of nearly three thousand voters in the city. Its leader was a man who had always been free, and who, during the war, was used by the rebels to oversee the blacks whom they pressed into the service. Another was a man by the name of Brand, who professed to be a Republican. These two men will ever be remembered by us in Savannah, and though they are both dead, their actions are continually speaking of them. Brand was paid about $300, to be divided among that large number of Democratic voters, and he used that money to decoy men in; but before the election came on, they quarrelled about the money, and the two men went to the river, and Brand shot his antagonist, and killed him.

MRS. FOSTER.—I think that one of the most effective arguments that can be used to induce the government to send officers to the South who will be efficient in protecting the colored people, is to show that the Republican ticket will be defeated unless it is done, for it is well known that the life of the Republican party depends upon Republican majorities in the Southern States, and the only way in which these Republican majorities can be secured in the Southern States is to give protection to the colored voters. I hope that will be urged upon the government, and on the leaders of the Republican party. As an individual, I give no thanks to the Republican party, as a party, how much soever I might give to individual Republicans, for having granted suffrage to the colored race. I cannot thank them for that, any more than I can thank them for having stricken off the shackles in the first place, that they might save the Union, not that they might save the colored race from slavery. I have no thanks to give the party, as a party, for anything it has done for the colored man. As a party, it has never done anything for the colored man for the sake of justice, for the sake of right, for the sake of humanity, even, they have done it to save themselves, and for that purpose only; and whatever, as a party, they do hereafter, will be done,—at least, until this struggle is ended,—to save themselves.

I will mention one fact, which will illustrate scores of others. Just previous to Gen. Grant's coming out and signifying his desire for the passage of the Constitutional Amendment, the Ohio delegation,—some of them old abolitionists, who have taken Mr. Foster and myself in their carriages and transported us for miles,—went into caucus and voted unanimously that they would vote against the Constitutional Amendment; but the moment Gen. Grant said he wanted that amendment, they went right-about-face, every one of them, except Bingham. It was self-interest, because they wanted this office for a brother, that for a son, and that for a cousin. It is only by appealing to their self-interest, by showing that it is only by protecting the colored man in the exercise of the franchise, that they can save their party from utter wreck, that we shall be able to accomplish our object, I think, therefore, we should make that an important point.

SPEECH OF AARON M. POWELL.

One suggestion made by Mr. Turner seemed to me very pertinent for our consideration in this business meeting to-day, namely, that we request the President speedily to mature, if he has not already matured, some definite policy for the military commanders in the South. The papers of this morning bring to us the tidings of the assassination in Georgia of another member of the Georgia Legislature. Undoubtedly, for political effect, there has been, since the election, a suppression, or, at any rate, an ignoring of the real condition of affairs in the South. Before election, the radical Republican papers were vigilant in bringing to notice all the outrages and all the disorder which prevailed through the South. It is to the interest of the Republican party, as such, to verify its own predictions in regard to Grant and the effect of his election, to pass by in silence now what before the election it was to the interest of the Republican party to bring prominently into notice. Gen. Grant, it was prophesied, by the very fact of having been elected, would bring peace. His invocation, "Let us have peace!" was echoed and re-echoed through the country, and men were exhorted to vote for him that thereby we might have peace. Now, the terrible sufferings of our allies at the South are kept out of sight by the interested supporters of Gen. Grant, in order, if possible, to make it appear that the prophecy has been fulfilled. But occasionally there is a murder like that of yesterday, reported this morning, of so significant a character, that we get at the facts. It is to the interest of the Democratic party, it was before the election, it is still, to keep out of public notice the murderous spirit which prevails among their allies who are smarting under a bitter defeat. Therefore, the American Anti-Slavery Society, which still lives, and for whose existence, as Senator Wilson and Senator Stewart, from their position of observation, testified last evening, there is still a necessity,—the American Anti-Slavery Society owes it to its Southern allies, the colored people and the loyal whites, to steadily bring to notice the murderous spirit of the former slave owners. It owes it to those Southern allies to call upon Gen. Grant that he support his invocation for peace, (viewing matters from his stand point) by some practical exhibition of the strength which is put into his hands to wield. We ought to have a special resolution prepared, as it seems to me, to cover the point suggested by Mr. Turner in his remarks, for it was the one great omission on the part of Congress before it adjourned.

I do not always want to be fault-finding. It has been charged upon us many times that it is our mission to find fault, and little else. There was a great deal in the action of the XLth Congress and the XLIst, which we could heartily commend; especially of this Congress which has given us the Fifteenth Amendment. It was indeed a step of great importance in the right direction, and we did not care gratuitously to criticise that body. But I must say of it, in behalf of those suffering colored men and women of the South, and the loyal whites, that on the shoulders of Senators and Representatives must rest the responsibility for the blood of that member of the Georgia Legislature, murdered yesterday. If our friends Turner and Simms go back next month, as they expect to, and we are notified, as we are likely to be, if there is no change in the present status of affairs, that these men have fallen victims to the infuriated rebels, who have already been upon their trail,—if we are notified that they have fallen victims to the assassin in Georgia before we meet here next year, on the shoulders of Senators and Representatives at Washington will rest the responsibility for their blood, for they adjourned leaving the Georgia question an open question—dodging the responsibility, which it was their duty to have met. During the recess of Congress, from this to next December, upon President Grant and his subordinate military commanders rests the responsibility for the lives and property of Union men in a large portion of the South. Let us admonish, let us urge Gen. Grant, by a resolution, that he see to it that his power be exerted to the uttermost to save life, to make property secure, and so bring about, if possible, the conditions of that peace which he has invoked.

Perhaps in the absence of any report from our Executive Committee, it may be well for me in this connection to refer, in a word or two, to the past anti-slavery year. It has been one of the most important years in the thirty-six covered by the history of this Society. For the past fifteen years, my own life has been given largely in the direction of the end to which this Society has been devoted. I believe I know its spirit, I have studied its end and aim, and am familiar with what it has achieved and what it has tried to do; and I think I can say that I have never known an anti-slavery year during which the services of this Society have been greater than during the year just closed. We have not so many instrumentalities with which to labor, we have not as many agents in the field, there are not as many journals printed as there were some years ago, we have, however, one journal, which I can safely say has had, during the last year, and mainly on account of its special editorial contributions of which I may properly speak, a larger audience by far than it has ever had hitherto. It has had a larger audience than all the anti-slavery journals of a dozen years ago combined, and multiplied many times. Its special editorial contributions are copied from week to week into the colums of papers in the Northwest, in the East, and in the South, and, as I have opportunity to know perhaps better than any one else, have arrested the attention of that class to whom we have always addressed ourselves, the leaders, so-called of the people, and with the effect, of awakening and stimulating these leaders in the line of their duty in the support of radical measures, I think I may safely say, to a greater extent, than any other journal

THE STANDARD, never a popular journal, and never to be a popular journal, independent of all party alliances, and always speaking of men and measures in a manner calculated to alienate those who do not want the truth spoken right out in meeting,—THE STANDARD has held its own during the past year, as during the preceding year, and has made a small advance upon its subscription list of a year ago. By the kindness of one in whose possession it was left, we have had the benefit of that large and exceedingly valuable list of names used by the late George S. Stearns, the proprietor and publisher of *The Right Way*, collected by him at great cost and carefully revised, and from week to week, in addition to our regular editions to our subscribers, we have scattered broad-cast over the country, copies of the most important issues of THE STANDARD, reaching channels very important to be reached, reaching with our testimony men upon whom that testimony has not been lost.

We have also been enabled, by the kindness and cooperation of interested friends and generous contributors here and in England, to send a large number of extra copies of THE STANDARD to the colored men of the South. Scattered here and there in the hands of such men as these our friends who have addressed us this morning, THE STANDARD has fallen upon fruitful soil. I need not detain you by dwelling upon the evidences which have come to me frequently and which have impressed me profoundly of the value and importance of using THE STANDARD in this way. I mention this, because I think it one of the good reasons why you should put into the treasury of this Society this year a still larger sum than has ever been paid before, to be used substantially in this way,—sending THE STANDARD to hundreds and thousands of colored men, who, notwithstanding all their trials, are learning rapidly to read, and are craving such publications as THE STANDARD, who take it with eagerness and with great gratitude. If we have the means placed at our disposal, we shall send it in larger numbers in this channel than we have ever done before, and, depend upon it, there never was a better use of money than in circulating such journals, at this time, among such a people, who are just in a transition state, ready to be founded in the truth. We need to do this to baffle the designs of the demagogues who would confuse and mislead the newly enfranchised colored people of the South in regard to their interests.

We have had, in addition to THE STANDARD as an agent and instrumentality of usefulness the past year, a number of important meetings. Miss Sallie Holley has given a very large portion of the year to travelling and lecturing as an agent of the Society, has held a large number of meetings, and a very considerable portion of the new subscribers who have come to us during the year have come through her instrumentality. Her meetings everywhere have been attended with most excellent results.

During the last two or three months, there have been some meetings held and addressed by Hon. James M. Simms, of Georgia, Mr. Wm. P. Powell, of this city, Wm. Wells Brown, and Charles C. Burleigh, who is at present engaged as lecturing agent in the State of New Jersey, in behalf of this Society. In addition to these meetings, a series of very interesting and important meetings was held in Pennsylvania, last December, addressed by Mr. Phillips, by Mary Grew, by Edward M. Davis and others; and in Philadelphia, the Annual Meeting and Festival, never exceeded in interest and usefulness, probably, by any similar meeting held in Philadelphia or in Pennsylvania.

You know, you who have perused the report of the Boston Festival, held in behalf of the treasury of this Society, how successful that was;—just when many people were saying that this Society ought to disband, there seemed to come from unexpected quarters, in Boston and in Philadelphia, new recruits and new sources of strength. So that we are able, with all the distracting influences of a transition period like the present, to record of the Boston Festival of last winter in behalf of this Society, that it was absolutely the most successful Festival ever held in behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society during its history.

I think it proper and profitable, at this business meeting to call these events to your mind, in connection with the suggestion that we have still a mission of usefulness before us; that we may say to whoever shall tell us, as the *New York Herald* said a day or two ago, that they don't see any use for the continued existence of the Anti-Slavery Society, that there are earnest men and women, with consciences awakened, with perceptions clear and unmistaken, who see that our pledge is not yet discharged to our clients, the colored people of this country, not yet discharged to the conscienceless whites who are not out of the woods which slavery led them into, who are still under the cloud.

Let us, then, go forward during the year before us, leaving no stone unturned by which we can reach the public opinion of the nation, and so awaken and energize it, that the members of the two or three State Legislatures who will by-and-bye decide the fate of the Fifteenth Amendment, (the keystone of the arch of freedom, as Mr. Douglass fitly called it last evening), will not dare to face the storm of indignation which would meet them if they proved recreant in this their hour of opportunity and responsibility. Public opinion has been largely affected as Senator Stewart said truthfully last evening, by the voice of this Society. As it has been heard and heeded during the past year, it will be heard and heeded during the year to come. There are scattered all over this country thousands of earnest men and women who are waiting to hear the voice of this meeting. "What are the Abolitionists proposing for the year before us?" This is the question which has come to me repeatedly in private letters the last two months. It is the question which this meeting is to answer next week, through THE STANDARD, and thousands of readers will look to it for the utterances which we shall make through our resolutions and the addresses which are given at our invitation on this occasion. Let us see to it that our voice shall now, as on former occasions, have no uncertain sound.

MRS. FOSTER.—I think Mr. Powell has forgotten one important point. I suppose I am not mistaken in understanding that THE STANDARD is sent to every member of Congress during the session. Is it not also true, that whenever any doubtful legislature is in session, THE STANDARD is sent to each member during the pendency of the question on the adoption of the amendment. I have supposed that to be the case.

SPEECH OF MISS MARY GREW.

We have listened with much interest to the testimony of our friends from the South; we have heard to-day, as we have heard and read so many times before, of the sacrifices, the moral strength and bravery of the colored men and colored women in the South, who, for the sake of the principles of freedom,—their own freedom or that of others,—have faced starvation and death and

Continued on fourth page.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1869.

PHOTOGRAPH OF JOHN G. WHITTIER.

We have completed arrangements which enable us to offer, as an additional premium for new subscribers, a life-like, handsomely finished, medium sized photograph of JOHN G. WHITTIER. It is of the same size, and in the same finished style, as that of Mr. Phillips, and by the same artist, Mr. Augustus Marshall, 145 Tremont street, Boston. As a photographer, Mr. Marshall is equalled by few, and surpassed by none in Boston, or elsewhere. Each photograph will be accompanied by Mr. Whittier's autograph. We doubt not that many of our readers, by whom everything from Mr. Whittier's pen is fondly treasured, will be glad to avail themselves of this favorable opportunity to obtain a recent and truthful likeness of him. It is the best we have ever seen of him, and will, we have no doubt, give excellent satisfaction to his numerous friends.

To any one who will remit to us for two new subscribers, one year, ($6), or to any old subscriber, remitting also for one new subscriber ($6), we will send post paid a copy of the excellent photograph of Mr. Whittier.

To any one remitting for three new subscribers, ($9), or renewing, and remitting for two new subscribers ($9), we will send one copy of the photograph of John G. Whittier, and one of Wendell Phillips.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

BOSTON, May 30th, 1869.

THE Thirty-ninth Annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention was held in Horticultural Hall, in this city, on Thursday, the 27th inst. The Rev. John T. Sargent, president of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, presided. Among the speakers, during the three sessions, morning, afternoon and evening, were WENDELL PHILLIPS, ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, MARY GREW, REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE, of Chicago, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, Rev. OSCAR CLUTE, WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, Mrs. MARY F. DAVIS, Mrs. CORA DANIELS TAPPAN, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, Mrs. ELLA DAVIS ROCKWOOD, GILES B. STEBBINS, SENATOR WILSON, Mrs. F. E. W. HARPER and others. The mention merely of addresses by the foregoing speakers will be ample assurance to our readers that the Convention was one of much interest. A synopsis of the proceedings will doubtless be furnished for THE STANDARD by the Secretary, whose report we will not duplicate. The attendance was large morning and afternoon, as well as at the evening session. The attention was earnest and constant, and the spirit of the meetings excellent throughout. The importance of vigorous agitation in the remaining doubtful States to secure the early ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment was strongly urged, and heartily responded to; also the need of adequate protection to the colored and white loyalists of Georgia and throughout the South. We were glad to see in attendance so many of the old, familiar faces of New England Abolitionists. As the Festival of last January was, we believe, the most successful in pecuniary returns (from friends of the cause in this country) ever held in behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society, so the Convention of Thursday last was one of the largest, most harmonious and effective we have ever attended in Boston. The contributions and pledges of the Convention amounted to nearly or quite eight hundred dollars.

To Abolitionists who have continued their chosen work, and used effectively the old methods, so well proved by past service, the rapid progress towards full legal equality for the colored people; and the generous and hearty coöperation still forthcoming for the prosecution of their work to complete success, is highly gratifying.

On Tuesday evening, and Wednesday, day and evening, was held a Woman's Suffrage Convention under the auspices of the New England Woman's Suffrage Association. Mrs. JULIA WARD HOWE presided. On Wednesday evening in Horticultural Hall Mrs. Howe read one of the ablest addresses to which we have ever listened in a woman's rights convention. Portions of this address we shall hope by and by to present to our readers. One of the most effective speakers in the convention was Mrs. Mary A. Livermore of Chicago, editor of *The Agitator*. Wednesday morning Wendell Phillips spoke at length and very eloquently, urging the claims of woman to the ballot. Among others who addressed the convention were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Lucy Stone, William Lloyd Garrison, Rev. Mrs. Hanaford, Mrs. Peckham, and Miss Cozzens from St. Louis, Stephen S. Foster, the Hon. Mr. Griswold and others. The sessions were well attended throughout, and characterized by a deep and lively interest. One speaker only, we believe, took occasion to deprecate the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. Among the resolutions adopted was one looking to the organization of a National Woman's Suffrage Association which shall be truly representative of the friends of the movement in different parts of the country. The "Hutchinsons" added to the interest of both the Woman's Rights and Anti-Slavery Conventions by several excellent and appropriate songs.

The Second Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association was held in Tremont Temple on Friday. Rev. O. B. Frothingham presided, and delivered an eloquent opening address. The new and commendable feature which distinguishes this Association is its broad catholic platform whereon are invited to stand representatives of all sects and denominations, Jews, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Unitarians, Quakers, Universalists, Spiritualists, Infidels, Nothingarians, and all, each to present, without controversial criticism, his own religious opinions. Among the speakers on Friday were Rev. Mr. Jones (Presbyterian); a representative of Judaism, whose name we do not recall; Rev. Mr. Abbott (Anti-Christian Radical); a Baptist whose name we do not recall; Mr. Frothingham (Radical Unitarian); Prof. Wm. Denton (Radical Spiritualist); Rev. Wm. J Potter (Radical Unitarian); Rev. John Weiss (Independent Radical); Ralph Waldo Emerson (Emersonian); Mrs. Julia Ward Howe (Radical Unitarian); Rev. Rowland Conner (Universalist); Horace Seaver, of *The Boston Investigator* (Infidel); Lucy Stone (Independent Radical); Mrs. Cora Tappan (Radical Spiritualist); and others. The audiences were large throughout the day and evening. Much disappointment was felt and expressed at the absence of Lucretia Mott, who was expected to address this meeting, but who was detained in Philadelphia by severe illness. In the great variety of opinions presented from the widely differing stand-points of view there was a noticeable and gratifying unity in commending most warmly practical religion which seeks chiefly the well-being of humanity. These meetings awaken much interest and can but exert a wholesome, modifying influence upon the religious opinions of the time.

The Labor Reform meetings held on Tuesday and Wednesday, and presided over by Mr. E. H. Heywood, were addressed among others by Hon. Thomas J. Durant, Wendell Phillips, Mrs. Ella Davis Rockwood, Ira Stewart, Esq., and Stephen S. Foster. The need of more leisure, of better educational facilities, and of a better understanding of the mutual interests of those designated as capitalists and laborers, the necessity of temperance, and the right use of leisure, the importance of coöperation, and of self-sacrifice to promote the common cause, were points urged with excellent effect. The movement as such, though important in its purpose, does not yet seem to be very coherent, nor altogether wisely administered, but it will doubtless increase in strength and wisdom with the progress of time.

On Tuesday there was a very pleasant gathering in Mr. and Mrs. Sargent's parlors, on Chestnut street, a special reception, after the manner of the Radical Club, at which an essay was read by the Rev. John Weiss. His subject was "Fatality." Among the conversationalists were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, Mary Grew, Miss Peabody, Rev. Mr. Jones, Col. T. W. Higginson, Rev. Mr. Clute and others. Of this very interesting informal meeting our readers are promised some account from another correspondent. How many unused, or unprofitably used parlors there are which might thus be turned to good account, as centres of similar informal gatherings for essays and conversations, and be made to contribute largely to a better type of religious, literary, political, and social culture.

A. M. P.

LANDS FOR THE SOUTHERN BLACKS.

THE earth, like the air and the sea, was given of God to the human race; and every man, by virtue of his right to be in the world has an original, indefeasible, inalienable claim to enough of the soil to furnish him building materials for shelter, and to supply him with necessary food and clothing. Beyond this Nature does not provide. The rest is left to skill and industry. But skill is useless, and industry is impossible, except by sufferance, without the right of domain for their adequate exercises. The skill to invent and use the lever is dead talent without the right of access to the materials with which to construct it, and the right of soil on which to place its fulcrum. That the lands of the globe are claimed and monopolized by Governments and individuals to the exclusion of a large portion of the human family, is at war with the order of Nature, and originated in sheer robbery. Governments should not have owned, but protected the soils of their jurisdictions for their rightful owners—the people; and should have seen that no one drove his stakes so as to infringe on the rightful and needed portion of other cotemporaries or of succeeding comers. This, *should have been*, and *will be*, if ever justice comes to rule the world,—a triumph which the old Prophets certainly contemplated and expected when they declared a state of things in which "every man shall sit under his *own vine and fig-tree* with none to molest him or make him afraid." This recognizes a clear ownership by every man of a portion of the soil, "in the good time coming."

But to overturn the present system of land-ownership, is too big a job, and too far in the future to serve the exigency of our black clients of the South. But there are other grounds on which their right to lands may be demonstrated, and, doubtless, other means within the power and functions of the Government to put them in possession.

As to their *right*: They have been the cultivators of the soil for the Southern Aristocracy for more than two hundred years, enriching it with their tears and blood during all that period of bitterness and woe, while under the yoke of a pitiless bondage that was upheld, strengthened and perpetuated by the Government's own arm. Who have a right to those lands, which the Rebels have forfeited, if the Blacks have not? Besides, the Blacks aided in conquering the Rebel Slaveholders when they put the knife to the Nation's throat. Nay, but for the strength that Emancipation and the Negro's arm brought to the National cause, it is admitted, on all hands, the Nation could not have been saved at all. Set free in their poverty and helplessness, and without a foot of land they can call their own, what less can a just nation do than, in some way, provide for them homes on the soil where they so long bore the burden of bondage, and which at last they drenched with their blood in battle to rescue it from the grasp of usurping and war-waging traitors?

It is not enough that the Government gives them the ballot; for that will serve but a partial good if they are to be but the tenants at will of their old oppressors, restored to their possessions and political power, as aforetime, and reënforced by Northern adventurers and speculators, aiming, in like manner, at a monopoly of lands. Surely there must be some means compassable by the wisdom and authority of Congress to prevent the injustice of leaving the black man of the South landless in the power of the landed white. The attention of Congress should now be concentrated on this problem as the final and, in some respects, the most vital and important of the whole question of reconstruction. Justice calls for its solution. The right of the Blacks, made sacred by the sweat of unrequited toil and the blood they shed for the life of the Nation, thunders its claim. The honor of the people and the gratitude due to their friends and saviors require the promptest action of the government in adopting a land policy that shall secure *free lands to the Blacks of the South.*

Here is work for the columns of THE STANDARD, for the lecturer in the field, for the old and still unwearied friends of the yet hardly delivered slaves, and for all who have the slightest touch of humanity, the least regard for justice, or any appreciable sense of gratitude for the black man's part in the Union victories of the war.

DAVID PLUMB.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Dr. David P. Holton, and others of this city, of the Veteran Temperance Corps, are agitating the subject of Free Baths for the public. It is proposed to have fresh and salt water baths, warm and cold. The movement is one of great importance, closely connected with both the physical and moral well-being of the citizens. We hope that all it contemplates may be accomplished.

The *Detroit Post* says:

"Two colored men have been appointed to clerkships in the Baltimore custom house. Will the Democratic merchants of Maryland countenance this 'outrage' by importing any more goods into the country? Will any Democrat use sugar, tea, coffee, silk, lace, or other articles, that have been weighed, inspected, sealed, or otherwise handled by 'nigger' officials? What is the world coming to, when 'niggers' are thus appointed to the public service, while thousands of white Democrats long for office in vain?"

It is announced from Washington that the Attorney General is preparing an opinion upon the authority of Gen. Reynolds to take criminals out of the hands of the civil authorities in Texas, and try them by military commission, where the civil authorities show no disposition to act. The case has arisen where murders were committed in cold blood on Union men. It is understood that Judge Hoar believes that military commissions have jurisdiction. In case he does so decide, vigorous measures it is said will be taken in Mississippi and Texas in all murder cases, with a view of checking the outrages now so common.

The Rhode Island House of Representatives on Friday voted, 35 to 29, to postpone the consideration of the Fifteenth Amendment until the January session. Until recently Connecticut has enjoyed the damaging distinction of being always the "doubtful State" of New England. Rhode Island seems to be in a fair way to achieve a similar questionable reputation. We trust that with seven months for reflection, and meanwhile a vigorous agitation of the question among the people of Rhode Island, the House of Representatives will finally ratify the Amendment at its January meeting. The Senate has already pronounced in favor of the Amendment.

John Cousins, Esq., the President of the Board of Trustees of the Wilberforce University, Xenia, Ohio, is in this city, at 543 Broome street, soliciting aid in behalf of the institution. In the spring of 1865 their buildings were burned by an incendiary, and their work which, as an enterprise of colored men, was prospering finely, was interrupted. They hope soon to complete new buildings and to resume their educational work. Though a collegiate school for colored students, established when colored students could not be admitted in other colleges at all, we presume they will not close their doors against white applicants if any should seek the advantages of the Wilberforce University. We shall be glad to have the University abundantly enriched and prospered upon the basis of no distinction on account of either color or sex.

Judging from the temper of public opinion here, and the cordial reception extended to Mr. Motley in England, it will not be necessary for Goldwin Smith and other Englishmen to pack their carpet bags and leave the country just at present. *The London Spectator* of the 15th, comments as follows upon Mr. Goldwin Smith's recent very foolish letter to *The* (London) *Beehive*:

"Mr. Goldwin Smith has written a very silly letter to the *Beehive*, in which he says Mr. Sumner's speech has revived hostility to England, and that, although he does not expect a rupture, still emigrants will do well to remember that there may be a change of feeling in America which will compel Englishmen to quit the country. Mr. Sumner's speech does not produce, but only expresses a long standing hostility; and as to the emigrants, they would be as safe in war as anybody else. The Americans would no more attack Englishmen resident among them than we should attack Americans. Why in the world should they when their visitors are increasing their power of carrying on the contest?"

The Washington (D. C.) City election will occur on Monday next, the 7th inst. The colored voters hold the balance of power in Washington, and the so-called Democrats have left no stone unturned to divide their votes and to compass their defeat, with however little prospect of success. Col. Forney in a letter to the Philadelphia *Press*, referring to the action of the Democracy, says:

"In their late primary elections they advertised for the support of the colored man, and failed, of course; and now they have revived the 'white man's' cry. They are, therefore, preparing for the election on Monday next under considerable disadvantages; and if the Republicans, whose ticket is composed of a 'respectable old citizen,' Mr. Boswell; 'a new citizen,' Mr. Cook, a highly intelligent colored man, and an adopted citizen, Mr. Donegan, born in Ireland, do not defeat them largely, I shall be much surprised. Our Democratic friends in other States who are in the habit of railing at negro suffrage, should come to Washington and take a leaf out of the experience of their associates, and in this they might learn wisdom from the fact that since the freedmen have been clothed with the ballot, Washington has advanced beyond all former example, and is to-day as peaceful and as well managed a municipality as Boston itself."

The Friends Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) held as usual in this city was largely attended, and concluded its sessions on the 28th ult. The Indian question occupied largely the attention of the meetings. *The Tribune* says:

"These minutes of 'the Representatives Committee' were unusually interesting; they went over the whole ground of the correspondence between the President and the prominent members of the Committee, which has resulted in placing the Western Indians, to a large extent, under the charge of agents selected from the Society, and approved by it, a change from which philanthropists are hoping for the most beneficent results. The yearly meeting appointed a large Committee of its best members, men and women, to coöperate with the officials in question and aid in the good work of managing our Indian affairs on Christian principles, and the responsibilities now assumed by the Society were considered in a solemn and prayerful, but hopeful spirit. It is a significant fact in this connection that in not a single instance has a Quaker Superintendent or agent solicited or suggested his own appointment. In every instance the appointees have been selected by their brethren, and in the cases of some of them much effort has been required to overcome their reluctance to undertake the proposed duty."

Mr. Motley has arrived in England and has been quite cordially received. The furor awakened in England by Mr. Sumner's speech subsides somewhat. A Liverpool telegram, of May 31st, says:

"Mr. Motley, the new Minister of the United States, received the addresses of the Chambers of Commerce at his hotel this morning. In reply to that of the American Chamber of Commerce, he returned thanks for the welcome he had received as the representative of the United States. He said it was the earnest hope and chief wish of President Grant's Administration, and of the people of America to cultivate faithfully, friendly and equitable relations with the Government and people of Great Britain. The happiness of the world, the advancement of civilization, and the best hopes of humanity depended on the concord of all branches of the human family, more especially on that of two leading nations, both connected by public and personal interests, allied by blood, addicted to commerce and the cultivation of the arts of peace. Mr. Motley concluded as follows: 'My most strenuous effort shall be devoted to further a good understanding on the basis of enduring friendship and kindly relations in accordance with the great principles of justice and honor, which are the immutable and only safe, unerring guides in the conduct of nations.' In answer to the address of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Motley expressed his high appreciation of their friendly sentiments toward America, and assured them that during the period of his office he should endeavor to promote good understanding between two nations of the same race, bound by a unity of interests hitherto unequaled. The best and highest purposes of both were fulfilled by faithful friendship. The American people and the American Government desired amicable relations with Great Britain, on the basis of justice and dispassionate regard for the rights and duties of both. It was the earnest wish of America to extend commerce, but the question of free trade was beyond the limits of his functions, its settlements being vested by the people in Congress."

We again surrender a large portion of our space, to the exclusion of much other interesting matter, to the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In our Boston letters will be found some account of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, and of other meetings held in Boston last week. We shall give additional accounts of these meetings next week, and shall hope to find space for some of the deferred favors of our correspondents.

PERSONAL.

A Vienna telegram of June 1st, says:

"The Hon. John Jay was to-day introduced to Baron Von Beust by Mr. Watts, the retiring Minister. Mr. Jay afterward had a special audience with the Emperor, when he presented his credentials as Minister of the United States."

Rev. John Weiss held a memorial service in his church at Watertown, Mass., on Sunday morning last, and paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of the deceased soldiers. Mr. Weiss will preach his farewell sermon to his Watertown congregation on Sunday morning next. His next field of labor has not yet been announced. Mr. Weiss is one of the best exponents and one of the most eloquent teachers of Free Religion.

The Boston Transcript says:

"At both the Unitarian and the Universalist Festivals, Thursday, tender and eulogistic references were made to the virtues, genius and services of Thomas Starr King, showing how greatly his memory is honored and how warmly he was beloved. His presence and influence are still felt in all the scenes he graced when with us, and he enjoys immortality here in the love of many hearts."

A Washington Associated Press telegram of June 1st says:

"It is said that Lewis H. Douglass, the colored printer, was yesterday transferred from the case to a position as copy-holder. This action would seem to take the question of the admission of colored members to the Typographical Union out of the control of such organizations, as copy-holders are not required to be members of such unions. But the issue having been raised, it will probably be pressed to a decision."

Mrs. Frances D. Gage, who has been for nearly a year past at the West, is somewhat improved in health, and intends hereafter to reside with her daughter, Miss Mary E. Gage, at No. 70 Willow street, Brooklyn. Miss Gage has recently located in Brooklyn, and is prepared, we understand, to receive a few permanent or transient boarders. We are not unfrequently inquired of by friends from out of town where they can find comfortable entertainment on visiting the city at less than first-class hotel rates. We refer such inquirers to Miss Gage, by whom we doubt not their wants will be most satisfactorily met.

On the day when Victor Hugo's new novel, "Le Homme qui Rit," was published in Paris, the following translations appeared: Two in English, viz.: one in London and the other at Leipsic; one in German, at Berlin; four in Spanish, viz.: two in Madrid, one at the Havannah, and one in Paris; two in Portuguese, viz.: one in Lisbon, and the other at Rio Janeiro; one in Russian, at St. Petersburg; one in Polish, at Warsaw; one in Dutch, at Rotterdam; and two in Greek, viz.: one at Athens, and the other at Constantinople; one in Hungarian, at Pesth; one in Swedish, at Stockholm; and one in Czechian language, at Prague. The English translation for America had already appeared.

The (Lowell, Mass.) *Saturday Vox Populi* says:

"The originator of the custom of decorating the graves of our soldiers, we are informed, was James Redpath, Esq., the present efficient chief of the Boston Lyceum Bureau. Entering Charleston with the fleet of Admiral Dahlgreen, in February, 1865, he remained there till the ensuing summer, laboring in many different ways for the improvement of the colored people in that hot-bed of rebellion. On the first of May, of the year named above, he called out the colored people and their children to decorate the graves of those brave but unfortunate Union soldiers who had been captured by the rebels, and imprisoned and buried upon the Race Course. More than ten thousand people turned out, and the enthusiasm manifested exceeded anything known either before or since in connection with demonstrations of this kind. The credit of originating this beautiful custom has often been erroneously ascribed to the disloyal people of the South, but it really belongs to one of the true-blue, dyed-in-the-wool, original abolitionists, James Redpath."

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, May 30th, 1869.

FOR a wonder, we have had an anniversary week of almost entirely pleasant weather. There are so many matters of interest compressed within these few days, that some of them necessarily overshadow each other. For instance; notwithstanding my life-membership in the Tract Society, and long interest in the tract cause, I was unable to attend its meetings, though a very pretty "scrimmage" was reasonably to be expected there between the orthodox Congregationalists and their fraternal enemies the Baptists. As these two differ on a point so important as how much water it takes to wash a man clean, and as there was money to fight for, a lively tussle was exceedingly probable. Indeed, one of the irreverent secular papers declared the sessions of these combatants to have been disorderly and turbulent to a shameful degree. My impression is that the Baptists, being able to dive deeper, swim further under water, and come up drier, got the better of their rivals; but I must leave that tempting theme, and take up no more of your space than a glance at the proceeding of three great anniversary meetings will require.

Place aux dames. As the New England Woman's Suffrage Association had precedence in time, it shall come first here also. Its meetings were held Tuesday evening in Tremont Temple, and Wednesday, all day and evening, in Horticultural Hall. These halls were filled with enthusiastic audiences, and from the smaller one hundreds went away, unable to obtain even a standing-place where they could hear. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, the President of the Association, presided with dignity and skill, and held the chair through most of the sessions. Her very interesting address at the opening of the meeting will be sent you, I presume, in the official report. The prominent feature of the first evening, however, was an extended speech, forcible, persuasive, and truly eloquent, from Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, of Chicago. This lady, of mature years and dignified presence, seemed to take possession of the hearts of the audience, and secured their earnest attention as long as she chase to speak. Her voice easily filled the great hall, her language was at once fluent and accurate, her acquaintance with the subject seemed perfect, and it was a high satisfaction to find such powers combined in a lady who seems foremost in the work of agitation for woman's suffrage in the West.

In response to the invitations issued by the Corresponding Secretary, letters had been received from John Stuart Mill, Rober Collyer, Anna E. Dickinson, George William Curtis, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, Hon. George F. Hoar, and others, portions of which were read in the Wednesday morning meeting. After these came admirable speeches from Wendell Phillips and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

A carefully drawn series of resolutions, moderate and calm in expression, yet thorough in substance, was then read by Lucy Stone; an argument for the woman's cause, well reasoned and well expressed, was set forth by Miss Lilly Peckham, a student of law in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and the morning's very interesting exercises were closed with an essay by Rev. Oscar Clute of Vineland, N. J., showing that the Bible clearly proved the equality of the sexes in civil matters.

The afternoon session also was rich in able and persuasive speakers. Rev. Gilbert Haven, one of the strong men of the Methodist church, and editor of *Zion's Herald*, gave an effective vindication of the right of woman to a place in civil society as the equal companion of man. Rev. Lawrence Wines of Brookline, and Rev. Mrs. Phebe A. Hanaford, taught the same doctrine. Mrs. Paulina W. Davis, Mrs. Livermore, Lucy Stone, Stephen S. Foster and James Freeman Clarke spoke. Every minute was profitably filled.

On the second and closing evening Mrs. Howe, the President, read an elaborate essay upon the sphere and mission of woman. She also introduced to the audience Hon. Whiting Griswold, of the Massachusetts Senate, chairman of that Joint Special Committee which has recommended a Constitutional Amendment giving suffrage to women. Mr. Griswold make a speech in reply, which was received with applause by the audience, and able addresses were made by William Lloyd Garrison, Miss Phebe Cozzens of Missouri, and Lucy Stone.

Variety was given to these sessions by the charming music of the Hutchinsons, whose spirit-stirring songs still produce that magical effect which the meetings of abolitionists and other reformers have so often witnessed. They foretell the enfranchisement of woman as confidently as they formerly did that of the slave.

This Association passed its resolutions with absolute unanimity, having had no conflict of opinion either upon principles or details of operation. The speakers and hearers were in perfect accord, not one of the oldtime "fleas of conventions" made his appearance, ministers and legislators gave earnest attention, and signs seem pointing to a steadily increasing movement of public opinion to demand a Sixteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, decreeing the enfranchisement of American women. The Board of officers of the Association were reëlected with a single change, the addition of Ralph Waldo Emerson to the list of Vice-Presidents. The meeting was a distinguished success.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention the next day, in the same place, was as inspiring, as harmonious and as successful as the women's meeting. Resolutions such as a faithful advocacy of the negro's cause demands were unanimously passed, and admirable speeches from Wendell Phillips, Aaron M. Powell, Mary A. Livermore, Mary F. Davis, Mary Grew, Abby K. Foster, Stephen S. Foster, Octavius B. Frothingham and others, fixed the attention of the Convention on the work yet to be done, the principles by which it should be directed, and the tireless vigilance that should be used up to the point of absolute success.

Among the speakers new here in this cause was Mrs. Rebecca Crumpler, an intelligent colored woman, who described, in a direct and straight-forward manner, the condition and necessities of her people in and about Richmond. She mentioned some of the hopeful circumstances in their case, yet urged active effort until the full rights of human beings should be secured to them.

Senator Wilson, who was introduced by Mr. Phillips, enumerated some advantages already gained for the colored people in sundry of the Southern States, while he thought it very important that more should be demanded. And Mrs. Cora V. Tappan spoke impressively of the fearful persecution still raging against loyalists, both white and black, in New Orleans and other parts of Louisiana.

The Hutchinsons delayed their departure from the city to give one of their songs in the Convention's morning session. It was heartily enjoyed, and followed by enthusiastic applause; and, though the singers left us, the spirit of harmony remained, and shed its influence over all the action of the Convention.

On Friday, came the Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association, in Tremont Temple, to hear which there was a gathering of 1500 people. An opening address was made by the President, Rev. O. B. Frothingham of New York, in which he made reference to movements similar to this, now organized, and in progress, not only in various portions of our Middle and Western States, but in France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. In all these places, expression had been given to a purpose, and wishes, like those of this Association, by the holding of conventions and the publication of pamphlets.

The Report of the Secretary, (Rev. W. J. Potter of New Bedford), which followed, gave a very interesting sketch of the work accomplished by the Association during the past year, and of expressions of sympathy and interest received from various quarters in his correspondence, and announced that measures were in progress to obtain an Act of Incorporation for the Free Religious Association.

The morning session was devoted to one of the great purposes of the Association, the procuring of free expression for the religious ideas now actually cherished by the chief religious sects and systems. In accordance with this plan, a presentation of the modern Hebrew faith was made by Dr. Erlanger of New York, editor of the *Jewish Times*—of the Orthodox belief by Rev. Jesse H. Jones of New York—of the idea which, adopting Theism, or rational religion, thinks it necessary also to discard Christianity, by Francis E. Abbot of Dover—of the theology of Spiritualists, by Prof. William Denton—and finally, of the religious ideas rightly belonging to philosophy by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

These speakers were indeed, as I have said, representatives, though informal ones, of classes, larger or smaller, existing in the community. But the purpose cherished, and accomplished, by the Association, was, still more than this, to have each speaker frankly declare his individual belief and idea; and in fact, from these five individuals, we had the honest and earnest utterances of five human souls, on one of the subjects most interesting and important to the human race.

All these utterances were deeply interesting and impressive, holding the audience in unbroken attention through a very long session. At its close the President read a letter of friendly greeting from Lucretia Mott of Philadelphia, who had designed to take part in the proceedings, but who was kept at home by serious illness, to the great regret of all concerned.

The afternoon session began with the reading, by T. W. Higginson, of a Report from the Executive Committee, and of letters from various gentlemen who had been prevented from attending and taking part in the meeting. Among these were Rev. A. H. Quint of New Bedford, Rev. W. H. H. Murray, (well known, the reader said, among the fishers of men), Rev. Phillips Brooks of Philadelphia, Rev. E. Parks, Rev. Lyman Abbott, and Prof. Dimon of Brown University, all of whom had answered the invitation of the Executive Committee in a direct and manly manner.

Next came the reading of an essay by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe on "Freedom and Restraint in Religion," after which there were speeches by Mr. Higginson, Mary Grew, Rev. Miss Gibson, (chaplain of a regiment during the rebellion), Rev. Dr. Bartol, Aaron M. Powell, editor of THE STANDARD, a Mr. Wadsworth of Boston, and Henry B. Blackwell of New Jersey.

In the evening session, David A. Wasson spoke at great length on the Relation of Social Science to Religion. After him Rev. Rowland Connor, Lucy Stone, Rev. John Weiss, Mrs. Cora V. Tappan, and Horace Seaver, editor of the *Investigator*, addressed the meeting, holding a large part of the audience in earnest attention until half-past ten o'clock, when the Association adjourned.

These sessions were all interesting and instructive, all serious and earnest, though the morning meeting, in my judgment, bore the palm; its variety, zest and piquancy giving occasion to the remark that the President evidently knew how to make punch, so skilfully did he combine the various opposites in a harmonious whole. Noble and beautiful thoughts were uttered. The spirit of freedom and the spirit of harmony were there. The speaking was positive, not negative, each declaring his own idea, while fully recognizing his neighbor's right to hold and express a different one; so that Mr. Higginson, in the afternoon, fitly summed up the morning session as being "all affirmation, no denial, and no recrimination."

There were, in the body of the house, not a few representatives of the popular religion, the demeanor of two of whom drew my attention. One of them, the Mr. Wadsworth whom I have mentioned among the speakers in the afternoon, stood up in his place on the floor, not to declare his own positive ideas according to the well-understood plan of the meeting, but to find fault with the meeting and the Association. He wanted to ask why they did this, and why they did not do that. They had existed a year, and yet he had heard of no list of converts, such as the churches were in the habit of publishing, and such as his friend Rev. Mr. Fulton (the Baptist preacher in the hall on Sundays) was accustomed publicly to announce; and he had heard nothing suited to prevent the offering of his "usual little humble prayer" when he went to bed that night. The President allowed this man to make his complaints, and the Association heard him patiently as long as he chose to speak; yet three several times afterwards I saw this very man trying, with the noise of his umbrella on the floor, to interrupt and clamor down one of the speakers invited by the Association.

The second of these two representatives of sectarian piety was one who has always been forward in opposing Sunday cars, and the opening of libraries and reading-rooms on Sunday. He seemed disposed to play the part of dog-in-the-manger here also; for, during the whole of Lucy Stone's impressive address—an utterance of serious and beautiful thoughts in the most earnest manner—this man employed himself in keeping up an incessant giggle among the younger members of his party; whispering to them mirth-provoking comments, first to the right, then to the left, in such a manner as to prevent not only them, but the people before and behind them, from attending to the speaker. Whether this conduct was prompted by the orthodoxy of these two persons, or by individual peculiarities, I do not undertake to decide.

Among the many differences of opinion existing without breach of harmony among the speakers at this meeting, one is particularly noticeable; that while some thought the advocacy of Theism, or of natural religion, necessitated a rejection of Christianity, and a repudiation of the Christian name, others held the opposite opinion, believing with Theodore Parker that that name is fitly applied to the two great essentials of religion taught by Jesus, called Christ; and believing what was said by Mary Grew at this very meeting, that it is unreasonable to take the definition of Christianity from the men who have corrupted it.

NORTH.

A RADICAL CLUB, EXTRA.

BOSTON, May 29th 1869.

To the Editor of the Standard:

A PLEASANTER festival day than May 26th, is rarely seen, albeit the sun was rather too warm in his greeting. But the great parlors at 13 Chesnut street were cool and shaded, while flowers were everywhere; for roses, pansies, carnations, tulips, and their gay sisters lent grace to the festival. Of all the Radical Clubs the most delightful are these extra ones, not occurring on the regular third Mondays, but especial days of grace when our hostess calls together the chosen. On this occasion (*place aux dames*) Mrs. Lodge, Miss Grew, Miss Peabody, Miss Louisa M. Alcott, and Miss Nora Perry were among the audience; Rev. John Weiss was the essayist; and he was listened to by such men as R. W. Emerson, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, Col. T. W. Higginson, Dr. Bartol, Mr. Powell of THE STANDARD, and others equally well known and honored.

Mr. Weiss treated in the most delightful manner the subject of "Fatality," which he illustrated by the Greek story of Oedipus. The Greeks were in the habit of considering every calamity as the punishment for some especial sin; but in this story they embodied a feeling that besides Fate there was also Fatality in human life; something in the regular sequence of events that could not be referred to violations of divine law, though it might be due to ignorance and weakness: something, unfortunate as well as retributive, that deepened the Greek reverence for the closeness of the invisible world. We often say of a person—"It is just his luck," not blaming him, but recognizing the fact of his being, so to speak, born to misfortune. Now Oedipus seems to have been preëminently born to misfortune.

He was the son of Laius and Jocasta of Thebes. Exposed on Mount Cithæron by his parents to forestall the fulfillment of a prophecy that his father would lose his life at his hands, left there with his feet pierced through and tied together, he yet lived to be called Oedipus, a word which means swollen feet, for he was, though comely and well-proportioned, a trifle halt and uncertain in his movements from this early exposure. A shepherd finds him, and carries him to the palace of Polybus and Merope, at Corinth, where, by that royal couple, he was adopted and brought up.

For a long time he supposes himself to be their son, but learning by some chance that he is not, he repairs to Delphi for an oracle. He is cautioned to beware of meeting his father and his mother, for if he should meet his father he would slay him, and if he should meet his mother, a yet more direful disaster would ensue. Still half believing that Polybus is his father, he will not return to Corinth, but takes the road to Thebes. Now this was about the time of the ravages of the Sphinx, and Laius (the real father of Oedipus) chanced to be on his way to Delphi, to consult the oracle. Father and son met in a narrow passage, where some trouble about passing each other grew into a quarrel and Oedipus killed his father.

Arrived at Thebes, he found the whole country agitated by the presence of the Sphinx. She had propounded a famous riddle, and refused to leave the place till it was guessed; but every one who attempted to guess it and failed she devoured; a practice not conducive to Theban cheerfulness. The Thebans, in despair, proclaimed that whoever should guess the riddle should become their king, and the husband of Jocasta (the widowed mother of Oedipus).

The Sphinx propounded her puzzle to Oedipus, as to his predecessors,—"What animal is that which walks on four feet in the morning, on two at noon, and on three at night? It has but one voice, and when it has the most feet it is the weakest." You are not surprised at the Greek mind's guessing it—a modern school-boy could do that. What animal is it? Why man, of course—answers the awakening Greek: and he himself, the answer, is the greatest riddle: for though he crawls as a babe, walks in the noon of his manhood, and declines upon a staff at night, he has but one voice, and that is the inspired, inspiring soul.

Not many years had Oedipus been seated upon the throne of his father, with his queen, his own mother, by his side, when a pestilence broke out to ravage the land which he had freed from the Sphinx. Of course instead of searching for a natural and physical cause for this visitation, he betakes himself to an oracle. The oracle tells him that the murderer of King Laius yet lives among the Thebans. At once Oedipus resolves to become the dead king's avenger. At last he finds out that he himself was the murderer. Jocasta thereupon understands the whole complication of events, and kills herself. Then Oedipus horror-stricken, snatches the golden buckles from her robe, and plunges and replunges them into his eye-balls.

"Let me go sightless into Hades," he exclaims, "for how can I ever behold my father again?" Lame, blind, gray in a moment with the shock of his misfortunes, he is thrust forth by the other members of the royal house, and totters into exile, invoking upon his own head the Erinnys of his mother. But the very fates are softened towards him, and the gods make him their care. His children grow up to be his comforters. His daughter Antigone, the loveliest woman of all literature, waits lovingly upon his footsteps. Even his death is an unaccountable, painless fading out of sight.

Round this immortal story Mr. Weiss spun the golden threads of his eloquence. The essay will probably be repeated in public, and it would be unfair to plunder it further of its gems; but those who were so fortunate as to hear it will find henceforth a new significance in the olden myth.

Mr. Emerson broke the momentary silence after the essay. He thought it well for us to sit upon the riddle of the Sphinx; and he had very much enjoyed Mr. Weiss' suggestive paper. Those old tragedies and stories were full of human significance. We could not have a better definition of the Greek chorus than that it was the voice of humanity throughout the play. We should need a wide generalization to reconcile all the speeches of the Greeks on the matter of fate; but a poet is not bound to reconcile what he does and says with everything else which he has said or shall say.

Col. Higginson said that it seemed to him that the Greeks were simply more daring than we in recognizing the cloudy aspects of existence. They played freely with these vast conceptions of fate, and the like. The modern tendency is to analyze and explain, and rather to put out of sight what cannot be reduced to system, Aristotle asked questions boldly and baldly enough; but before his day if the Greeks must suggest an interrogation point they did it grandly, as in the case of the Sphinx. Among the moderns Hawthorne, indeed, wrote with a certain grand mysticism, gave sublime hints, after the manner of the ancients—but the Greek idea of fate belongs to the cloudy region, and it is difficult for us to treat it satisfactorily.

Mr. Frothingham said that a man living in New York saw little of Greek philosophy, though a good deal of certain kinds of fates. He never touched a Greek tragedy without feeling that it included everything; but we did not always get, as we had this morning, an interpreter who could bring to light all the shades of meaning. There seemed to be nothing to take us out of the

Col. Higginson thought that the two poles of our lives must include all the wide range of inherited tendencies and causes with which Dr. Holmes has dealt; as as well as their opposite, the individual will. What was grandest in Thoreau was his conception of a man's power to ennoble his own life. He, himself, had no fear of science. It gave even to poetry much more than it took away. We do not see Dr. Howe enumerated among the literary men of America; but few things were written which thrilled him as did Dr. Howe's reports. They were as noble and inspiring as any Greek tragedy; and while reading them one understood how science was coming to the aid of art and poetry and religion. We were yet to work into our own lives all which the Greeks knew of excellence and of beauty. About a thousand years hence we should have very nice times.

Mr. Powell wondered if distance did not lend some enchantment to the Greek view. He fancied that to-day humanity was nobler than ever before. We do not need to dwell apart from the natural world in one of imagination, because the most beautiful pictures are strictly true. We are only on the threshold, as yet, of the unexplored world of spiritual forces. They are indicated by all history, and are everywhere at work; and we ought to look more at life from that side.

Miss Peabody thought the point of the tragedy of Oedipus to be that he who had unriddled the Sphinx, knew nothing of himself. While that ignorance exists the Sphinx must tear men in pieces. Oedipus states the truth intellectually, but is not saved by it. The tragedy of life is that everybody drifts. We perceive and are not helped by our perceiving. There is truth enough in the world to save it, but it is not saved. The story of Oedipus illustrates this. What the oracle says shocks him, but does not hinder him from rashness; and such is the always recurring tragedy of life.

With this last word the discussion was terminated, the pleasant company broke up into groups, and there was cream and salad not "for the solitary."

LOUISE CHANDLER MOULTON.

[For the Anti-Slavery Standard].

INVISIBLE WRITING.

This sweet, strange poem which to-day
  Enchants us, was not written
In sudden heats of March or May,
  On Earth's brown breast, Spring-smitten.

Close to her brooding heart she held
  These May-flowers, through the winter;
Though up from them no sweetness welled,
  To hold them, did content her.

Now, warmed by sunshine of the May,
  Each hour some word long-cherished,
Gleams out in blossom, leaf or spray,
  From buds that have not perished.

Low, sweet, white violets in the grass,
  Cowslips for children's posies,
Columbines nodding as they pass,
  And by-and-by.—the roses.

Oh! written in most wretched souls,
  Are words the angels cherish;
Though blackened and defaced the scrolls,
  God's records never perish.

And warmed by sunshine from the heart
  Of loving man or woman,
Or gentle child, new hopes may start
  In hearts which scarce seem human.

Thus we may help to bring to light,
  A poem stranger, sweeter
Than this one, after deeper night,
  And yielding joy completer.

Such genial sunshine we may shed
  On cold and desolate bosoms,
That buds which seemed long dead, long dead,
  May make response in blossoms.

First come low violets in the grass,
  Cowslips for children's posies,
Columbines nodding as they pass,
  Then—by-and-by—the roses.

M. R. W.

FROM VIRGINIA.

"HOLLEY SCHOOL," LOTTSBURG, Va., May 13th, 1869.

EARLY yesterday morning Miss C—— and I set out for Heathsville, where a mass meeting was to be addressed with reference to the coming important election in Virginia. Groups of the dear, colored people, both men and women, joined us along the way; and in shady places we rested and read THE STANDARD to them.

The Court House green was reached, where the crowd was to listen to the speakers, on the steps; there stood the big old oak trees, all leaved out, where Hiram Blackwell and so many others of that multitude had been sold. The auction block was under its branches, and on that ground in former days the Richmond "soul-driver" used to walk secure in his impious traffic with the slave masters of Northumberland County.

This is the part of Virginia that has earned her the shameful brand of slave-breeding. And God only knows the heart-breaking anguish that has bowed down many thousands of his children that have been sold away forever from their kindred and home. All knowledge of letters denied them, here in the United States of America, no word or token could they send back of their fate to those who mourned a husband gone, a father, a mother, "a favorite sister of mine," as Samuel Blackwell speaks of Arthur's poor lost grandmother—every tie of affection or family ruthlessly broken. No wonder the country looks blasted and sin-smitten. While waiting the hour of speaking, Mr. Dow, the newly appointed loyal County Clerk, (through all the war, and since, the old Clerk and County officers remained till now, in undisturbed possession and management of county business, laying heavy taxes, and visiting with fines and penalties this victim race, according to their pleasure), placed several volumes of the county records before me. One dated in 1710 and later "in the reign of our gracious sovereign *Anne*," quaint in penmanship and spelling, and the inventories of "brasse kittles," "iron dogges," and all manner of domestic apparatus, so particular in description that you needed but little imagination to reproduce a picture of the life that went on in this region 150 years ago. But there was nothing so surprising and strange as a record made the 14th of May, 1866, of the *Slaves* of James M. Smith, deceased.

There on the fresh pages of the great book you can read, as follows, fairly written out, in due form, (I select the items):

John, (Judy's son) $350; Henry Conway, $750; Letty Anne, (hairlip, so spelled, C. F. P.) $100; Thos. Delany (old man) $25; Lindsay (old man) $25; boy, Leroy Opie, $750; girl, Lizzie Opie, $650; boy Ben, $150; Ben, $600; Mary (Francis' child) $350; girl Laura, $275; boy Jim, $225; boy Ethelbert, $275; Lousia, (sick) 000; Jennie, eighty years old, 000; and so on for several pages, seventy-two slaves in all their values carefully added to amount of $26,875.

Was this record made with a view to some day taxing the Freedmen to pay for themselves? In a little time the son of this deceased owner of so much "perishable property" was standing below to hear it open its eloquent lips on the steps of the Court House, in demand of every right of citizenship, free press, free schools, free speech, the right to the ballot-box, the jury box, homestead, equal taxation, and every bit of freedom that he himself enjoyed.

Glasgow Blackwell and Alexander Day spoke clearly and with power for their chosen candidate for the "Lower House of Delegates"—that branch of the State Legislation is called, *Ephraim Nash*—who did such faithful work in the Constitutional Convention, to make the new law of Virginia just like that of Massachusetts! and now (God-speed it), will take his seat to do his part to bring Virginia as far back as such a Constitution can do, into the sisterhood of States.

The ratification of his nomination was given with hearty unanimous *ayes* and cheers.

If this country had a newspaper, the report of this meeting would be a credit to its columns.

Mr. Henry Sellen, a talented ex-slave of Westmoreland County, spoke well for the new reign of equal justice. I sincerely hope he will be elected from George Washington's native county, for which he is the candidate, and that in the halls of Richmond he will declare as boldly for *Union schools* and no proscription, of either white or black from any, as he did on the steps of Northumberland Court House.

The young attorney, Mr. Brownlee, appointed by Government to this District, made an able defense and exposition of the new Bill of Rights, speaking with fearless freedom of the change from the old *wrong* under which they had lived, to this better, brighter day. O! It was good to see and hear and feel so many evidences of the stirring of the new era of ideas that is to sweep away the barbarism of what *Imboden* could so impudently call "*our special form of civilization*," before the Farmers' Club Meeting, in Cooper Institute, last month.

The air was sweet, and the day perfect, a boon to that far foot-travelling crowd, that must have been weary and hungry, but for the "bread of life and justice, portioned out to every one his share.

That the *N. Y. Tribune's* dream of peace and happiness during the coming trial and ordeal of election will not be broken by more murders than that of the colored delegate of Charlotte County, no one can predict.

C. F. P.

"OUR WORK."

LECTURE BY MRS. F. E. W. HARPER AT SHILOH CHURCH.

SHILOH CHURCH corner of Prince and Marion streets, was well filled last night with colored people who came to hear Mrs. F. E. W. Harper, one of their own race, discourse upon "Our Work." Rev. C. B. Ray presided and introduced the speaker in a few fitting words. She said that this nation had been a divided one. One half had believed in slavery and one half in freedom; one half in the divine right of the master, and the other in the divine right of the slave. That was the aspect of affairs so far as the white people were concerned. Why, it was asked, had the colored race been at the bottom of the social scale? The Jew, the German, the Irishman were speedily merged in the body politic and became part and parcel of the nation, while the colored people were social pariahs and political outcasts. The speaker did not know that there was any invincible antagonism against any particular color, if there was it certainly was not black. There was not a lady who thought her wardrobe at all complete without one or more black dresses. The colored peoples' hair was not perfectly straight, but that was not the ground of the prejudice. If one should go down to the watering places he would see a great many ladies doing their best to put kinks in their hair, while on the other hand the colored people were doing the best they could to straighten out theirs. The speaker said she would concede that her people had been poor in a land of wealth and ignorant in a land of culture, yet she thought that they possessed elements of strength and of progress. The colored man had brain power, muscular power, and political power. The colored people, too, as a race, had great faith, and this had been their support in the past and would insure their triumph in the future. What the race needed most was the development of its brain power, not for the sake of rivalry, but for the sake of raising the race in the scale of being. How was it, it was asked, that the white man had succeeded? There was a time when the island of Manhattan was sold for twenty-four dollars. It was knowledge, combined with muscle and enterprise, that had made New York the third or fourth city of the globe. This brain power was not lacking in the colored race, but, like the power of steam before the time of Watt, the power of electricity before the time of Morse, the power of the sunbeam before the time of Daguerre, it was a dormant force only awaiting some one to bring it out. Its development depended on education. In New York there were 20,000 colored people, and only 2,000 names of their children were on the school registry, while but about 700 were in actual attendance. Some of the colored people said they knew enough already. They had got along well enough. But times were changing more and more. Rude muscular labor was coming in contact with the achievements of science. By and by this competition will be so great that a people who have nothing but their hands to rely upon, and unskilled hands at that, would be driven to the wall. The colored man should not be content with ignorance. In certain circumstances contentment was a Christian virtue; but there was such a thing as an evil contentment. Contentment with poverty, with ignorance, when no effort was put forth to overcome either, was always degrading. As people sowed so would they reap, was as true in the moral as in the physical world. If the colored people sowed idleness and ignorance they would reap social contempt. No race had ever done anything until they had become owners of land. It need not be expected that the colored race would be any exception to the general law. They would never come into possession of their full power and command the respect of other races until like Anteus they touched the earth. A race always looking up to another race for bread would be a race always covered with contempt. But, a colored man would ask, "How shall I get land?" Let them get it as the Germans do who, on the average, when they land in this country, have but sixty-eight dollars a piece. There were a number of young colored men who would go to Newport, or Niagara, or Long Branch, and who would make more than this the coming summer, and return to the city and spend it all before winter in trifles that amounted to nothing. The colored people should be to the South what the German and Norwegian are to the great Northwest. They should get the cotton power into their hands and use it for intelligence, for liberty and for civilization, as in the past it had been used for ignorance, for slavery and for barbarism. Colored people should be taught to respect their word as slavery taught them to disregard it. They should learn to despise no work unless it was selling whiskey, and they should take the first thing at hand and stick to that until something better offered, determined the while to become worthy of something better. The colored race has been a race claiming the nation's pity; now let them be a race demanding its respect—not by clamoring for their rights, but by going to work and faithfully performing their duties. Their daughters should be trained up to be useful. They should not be at the piano or working cats or dogs in embroidery while their mothers were up to their elbows in the washtub working for their support. Find a house where this state of affairs exists and it might be set down as a certainty that there was something wrong there. If one wants to know what young men are let him find out what kind of women he associates with. Mrs. Harper spoke at considerable length, giving much other sensible advice, which if heeded, cannot but tell on the condition of the race in whose behalf she labors.—*New York Herald.*

WOMAN'S RIGHT TO EDUCATION.

From the New York Times, May 27th.

WE see no reason why the girls educated at our public schools should not be entitled to the same privileges as the boys in the "College of the City of New York"—which is maintained at the expense of the State for the advantage of those pupils who, having graduated at the public schools, are desirous of prosecuting their studies in such higher branches of knowledge as may be considered requisite for intellectual development or for utilitarian purposes. If the State, having assumed the right of establishing a public school system in which the elements of education are taught independently of sex, has also assumed the right of maintaining an institution in which education is carried a step beyond the initial stages, why should one-half of the elementary pupils be debarred from its privileges because of their sex? If a girl in the lower school has attained the necessary proficiency to enter the higher, why should she be precluded from further advancement because she is not a boy? What right has the State, which teaches rudimentary mathematics to both sexes indifferently, to carry one sex into higher mathematics while it refuses to carry the other? Why should it offer boys the opportunity of learning Greek while it refuses to give girls the chance of learning French? Why should it instruct males in chemistry and not females in botany? And why should not a member of one sex as well as of the other have an equal claim to the opportunity of studying fluxions and French, Greek and geology, the laws of matter or of mind, the laws of society or of morals, and, in short, whatever branches of study may be embraced in the curriculum of the public institution known as the College of New York? We say *the State* has no right to make such discriminations. It has no right to knock the ground from under the feet of an aspiring girl, while raising an elevation upon which an ambitious boy may mount.

We know that, writing on this subject, there are certain collateral questions that are embarrassing. But we do not propose to discuss these. We desire at this moment simply to consider the claim put forth in behalf of the girls as a question of *right* in itself. And, so considering it, we must confess that the argument is in favor of those who ask equal rights for the sexes in the matter of State education. It will be observed that there are important differences between the present claim and the demand sometimes put forward for the admission of women into other colleges and universities. The latter may possess special rights and regulations as independent incorporated institutions, established for special purposes, maintained by special interests, and governed by laws that are not under the public control. But the College of New York is *a part of our public school system*, is under the direct control of the State, and is supported by public taxation,—a portion at least of which is drawn from the property and the labor of women. This last mentioned fact, if no other, should be sufficient to prevent the exclusion of girls from the College.

This whole question has been under consideration by the Workingwomen's Association, and a Committee, consisting of two highly educated and intelligent ladies,—Mrs. Charlotte Lozier, M. D., and Miss O'Connell, who is the Principal of one of our public schools,—has been appointed to devise means and carry out measures for securing the right of girls to their share in the privileges of the College. We presume their past exclusion has only been because the matter has been entirely overlooked; and we have no doubt that when the question is brought before the Board of Education, it will be decided as it ought to be.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR.

199 FULTON STREET, BROOKLYN, May 20th, 1869.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Dear Sir:—My attention has been called to an article in your issue of May 15th entitled "Absurd Prejudice against Color." In all my life I have never seen in any newspaper an article containing so many errors in so short a space, and I would challenge any one to produce one that can surpass it. I do not know its author, but in charity I will believe and say, that he has been grossly imposed upon; to think otherwise would brand him as an ignorant man or an infamous liar. Raising no objections to his exaggerated report of members and lodges, I will merely reply to correct some mis-statements which are calculated to create the very thing that he seems to condemn. He states "that from its organization in 1847, the Order of Good Samaritans went on smoothly until 1866, when the G. Lodge of the State of New York, not wishing to associate with colored Members, withdrew," etc. If he alludes to the delegates who withdrew from the National Grand Lodge in Philadelphia, I can inform him that they were the best friends of the colored Brethren and animated with brotherly feelings towards them. Their retirement was occasioned by the N. G. Lodge refusing to receive a protest from the G. L. of New York against two prominent officers (white) who were then members of a suspended Lodge and therefore not entitled to hold office in any Grand Body.

The colored members mistook for a friend one who proposed to be their "Moses" but like another has proved himself a traitor to every honorable principle. The article goes on to say "the main body still continued, and in October of that year formed a new N. G. Lodge." Now I would ask where was the necessity to organize if it had never ceased to exist? Composed as he says of 1,200 Lodges, was the withdrawal of nine Lodges sufficient to break up the N. G. Lodge? Again he says "in November, 1868, a General Convention was held, and the original Grand Lodge of New York having for its leaders J. D. G; C. A. G; H. R; D. R. M; J. S; and others," and if the first two named only were members of the so-called Original Grand Lodge, the others were then all, and some are now, in full communion with the N. G. L. one of them, H. R. being the present N. G. Secretary. The truth is that the G. L. in that November convention did not elect nor enroll any one to represent it in the N. G. L. which body he says "is again broke up" but is expected to be soon mended up again at Boston, Massachusetts.

Now, Mr. Editor, permit me to say on my honor, that since the beginning, and during all these troubles, the question of the colored man's rights was never broached, not a word relating to it, was ever spoken openly at any sessions of the G. L. of the State of New York, but individually the members entertain very different feelings toward their former colored brethren (not on account of their color) but for their action at Philadelphia and ever since in blindly following their pretended "Moses," against whom a well grounded prejudice ought to exist in every honorable man or woman.

In regard to the change that has taken place as he says on account of color, *it is not so.* Republican as I am since the party was first organized and an advocate of equal political rights to all, without distinction of sex or color, had the colored people at the last election voted in direct opposition to those who have labored and suffered for the sake of justice and humanity, I would have been grieved, and reluctantly should have come to the conclusion that they were not capable to vote rightly or properly. But thanks be to God that in politics they have shown more wisdom and gratitude than in the Order of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria.

Yours, in the cause of humanity,

CHARLES A. GUINAND.
254 Water street, New York.

NEW YORK, May 25th, 1869.

To the Editor of the Standard:

DEAR SIR: A "Good Samaritan" has just placed in my hand a copy of your paper of May 15th, 1869, and requested me read an article signed by "Hans Powell M. D." In thirty years of active experience in printing newspapers, I have never before read so maliciously false an article. There is scarcely a truthful sentence in it. To my knowledge it is only paralleled by the speech which made Dr. Snodgrass a member of the National Lodge of Good Samaritans. How long shall our colored brethren be duped by the machinations of the vilest of the white race!

HENRY RUSSELL,
Secretary of "The National Grand Lodge of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria in North America."

LITERARY.

Mr. Stearns, of the National Temperance Society, 172 William street, announces *The Text-Book of Temperance*, by Dr. F. R. Lees, F. S. A., of England. 312 pp. Price, $1.50.

This highly important and much needed work is a complete compend of the theory and doctrine of total abstinence, and of the historical, Biblical, physiological, statistical, and philosophical arguments for Teetotalism, containing all that is necessary to give a thorough and intelligent comprehension of temperance principles and of the duty of individual abstinence. The work will be divided into nine parts, in which its subjects will be embraced according to the following summary of contents:

PART I.—TEMPERANCE AS A VIRTUE. Showing how it begins with Self-Denial, is opposed to Sensual Gratification, and expresses Obedience to Divine Law.

PART II.—THE CHEMICAL HISTORY OF ALCOHOL. Embracing the Chemical History, Nature, and Properties of Alcohol.

PART III.—THE DIETETICS OF TEMPERANCE. Food, Physic, or poison? Showing that neither Health nor Strength is given by Liquors.

PART IV.—THE PATHOLOGY OF INTEMPERANCE. Embracing the Question of the Action of Alcohol upon the System, giving Experiments, Statistics, and Illustrations.

PART V.—THE MEDICAL QUESTION. Showing the Nature of Disease and its Remedy; demonstrating that Alcohol is not a Curative Agent, and presenting a variety of convincing Arguments, Statistics, and Quotations against the use of Stimulants under the pretence of Healing Physical Disorders.

PART VI.—TEMPERANCE IN [RELATION TO THE BIBLE. Embracing Ancient Teetotalism and the Bible Argument for Total Abstinence, popular and critical.

PART VII.—HISTORICAL. Embracing the History of Drinking Usages, of Attempts in Ancient Times to stop the Evil, and of the Rise and progress of the Modern Temperance Reformation.

PART VIII.—THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE REMEDY. Embracing the Results of Intemperance, as exhibited in its Effects upon the Moral, Social, Industrial, and Pecuniary Interests of Men, with Reliable Statistics, and the History of Prohibition in America.

PART IX.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF INTEMPERANCE. Setting forth the Remedy for the evil—Personal, Social, and National.

PART X.—SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT.

Questions upon the text are given at the bottom of the page, so that lessons may be given out to children and youth in schools, Bands of Hope, and families, and in this respect will supply a demand for a permanent accurate and standard Text-book upon the subject to be introduced into the common schools of the country.

As to the qualifications of Dr. Lees for the authorship of such a work, nothing need be said to those who are acquainted with his published writings; and to those who are not, it need only be remarked, that his abilities as a temperance writer, his previous studies and labors in every department of the subject, and his thorough familiarity with the historical, Biblical, and physiological aspects of the question, point to him as possessing eminent qualifications for such a task.

No better text-book ever was published for the purpose of educating the public sentiment of the nation upon the great fundamental doctrines of the curse and the true remedy for the evils of intemperance.

The book will be sent by mail on receipt of price.

The *Radical* for June is a superb number. "Woman Suffrage," by John Weiss, the opening paper, is one of the most valuable contributions yet made to the question. Lucid, calm in its presentation, it is destined to effect good wherever its influence may penetrate. We quote a single paragraph:

"Woman's influence has reached man in every direction save that of voting. A man votes as he builds the fires and sifts the coal: it is not business for a woman, and she is only acquainted with the results. He seldom talks about it to her. In an immense number of cases he treats his own privilege with the unconcern of not thinking it worth the mention. It will be different when the woman says, at breakfast, 'I shall vote to-day as Shaw and Lowell would if they were alive.' Will he reply, 'Oh, then I'll just countermand that order for the fascinating outfit; for I think that you ought to dress on the line of the other party.' If the churl does this, she need only say, 'Vote with me by the side of remembered graves, and love me all the better for it. My right invests me more sumptuously than all your money can.' Will she learn this? She must herself decide."

"The Sunday Conflict in London," by Moncure D. Conway, is an interesting paper; and contributions by Samuel Johnson, O. B. Frothingham, D. A. Wasson and others make a number of more than ordinary excellence. The *Radical* presents the usual variety of Notes, Reviews, etc.

The *Atlantic* for June contains the conclusion of "Malbone," by Mr. T. W. Higginson, a story proving, by the interest which has attached to it, that the author loses none of the powers which have characterized him as a brilliant essayist in his venture in fiction; "Noreembega," a beautiful poem by John G. Whittier; the first part of a well written essay on "The Hamlets of the Stage," giving the most notable personations from its first appearance to the time of John Phillip Kemble; "Birds Nests," a little gem appropriate to the season; "Buddhism, or, the Protestantism of the East," a carefully prepared article containing much new thought for the general reader; "China in our Kitchens," and several other excellent papers. The Reviews are, as always in the *Atlantic*, careful, thoughtful, and in the main just.

Harper's Monthly for June is an unusually attractive number. "The Aurora Borealis" is described in an interesting and highly instructive paper, by Prof. Loomis, with twenty illustrations; "Winter on the Plains" and "Military Pyrotechnics of Former Days" are two pleasant illustrated papers; "A Brave Lady," by Mrs. Craik (Miss Muloch) is continued; "My Enemy's Daughter," by Justin McCarthy, draws evidently to a close, with, we must confess, a little falling off of interest from its magnificent opening chapters; "Said Pasha" is a very graphic and interesting article, and "Deliverance Armstrong," and several other pleasant stories, with the usual variety of Editorial, Book Notices, and Drawer, make up the number.

A four page sheet of a new paper entitled *Our Country*, has made its appearance, which announces that on the first Wednesday of July, and weekly thereafter, it will be issued from this city as an eight page journal, double its present size, under the above title. *Our Country* will be devoted, as stated by the prospectus, to the best interests of American civilization, with especial attention to the cause of Temperance. We wish the new enterprise all success in so commendable an undertaking.

The Woman's Advocate for June contains: "An Evening at a German Professor's," by Mary J. Safford; "Suicidal Logic," by George S. Burleigh; "An Average Woman," by C. Clark; "Sister Anne's Vocation," by Nora Perry; "Emancipation," by Mr. F. Burlingame; "A Kansas Heroine;" "Nearing it," by W. J. Linton; "Woman's Wages," by Jane O. De Forrest; Editoral; Notes; Literary.

Our Young Folks for June continues the "Story of a Bad Boy," which is becoming a great favorite with the juveniles, and contains amusing and instructive articles by J. T. Trowbridge; Mrs. Austin, Elizabeth Agassiz, Lucy Larcom, and several others, forming, with its illustrations, an attractive number.

RECEIVED.

NORMAN LESLIE; A NEW YORK STORY. By Theodore S. Fay. Cloth, 391 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

THE WEDDING DAY IN ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES. By Edward J. Wood. Cloth, 290 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THE VIRGINIANS. A Tale of the last century. By Wm. Makepeace Thackeray. Paper, 411 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THE DODGE CLUB. By James De Mille. Paper, 133 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THE GATES WIDE OPEN. By George Wood. 343 pp. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

EUROPEAN VINEYARDS. By W. J. Flagg. Cloth, 321 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers.

LIFE OF AUDUBON. Edited by his widow. With an illustration by James Grant Wilson. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

THE ARK OF ELM ISLAND. By Elijah Kellogg. Boston: Lee & Sheppard.

American Anti-Slavery Society.

COLLECTIONS AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, MAY, 1869.

Alonzo J. Grover,	$5.00
Joseph Carpenter,	4.00
Margaret W. Carpenter,	1.00
Robert Purvis,	10.00
C. B. Ray,	1.00
E. M. Davis,	10.00
Sarah H. Marshall,	2.25
Mary B. Trimble,	5.00
Lucretia Mott,	20.00
John T. Sargent,	5.00
O. F. Browning,	1.00
Margaret Jackson,	25
Mrs. Francis E. W. Harper,	25
Collections from various persons,	17.19
Susan B. Anthony,	2.00
A. Friend,	25
Mrs. Asa Fairbanks,	5.00
Wm. Lawson,	10.00
Bourne Spooner,	20.00
Wendell Phillips,	100.00
L. Holmes,	2.00
Mary B. Trimble,	5.00
Sarah H. Marshall,	80
Esther Carpenter Pierce,	2.00
Nathaniel Francis,	1.00
Giles B. Stebbins,	2.00
Mrs. Mary B. F. Curtis,	2.00
Henrietta Morse,	[5.00
Cash,	50
"	10
"	10
"	50
"	20
"	30
A friend,	70
Various friends,	9.65
Cash,	1.00
Cash,	50
A rejected Southerner,	50
Lydia Mott,	50
Phebe Jones,	50
Mrs. Robinson,	25
Miss Robinson,	25
A friend,	25
Sallie Holley,	3.00
Dr. Puyals,	25
S. Cabrera,	50
Robert Utley,	25
Mr. Hogben,	25
H. S. Berry,	1.00
A Friend,	1.00
Joseph Post,	10.00
Elizabeth R. Post,	25
Margaretta Maybee,	25
Mrs. Beach,	25
Mr. Deyo,	25
Mrs. R. L. Young,	25
Mrs. S. Wild,	50
Harriet B. Burton,	25
Mrs. M. V. Bell,	25
A. Bruce,	25
Mrs. Young,	50
A Quandom Friend,	50
A. M. and A. R. Powell,	5,00
Cash and tickets sold,	275,00

PLEDGES.

E. D. and M. Hudson,	25,00
Mrs. J. T. Sargent,	5,00
William P. Powell,	5,00
Mary Grew,	20,00
Mrs. L. G. Calhoun,	5,00
Mrs. M. E. Dodge,	5,00

Special Notices.

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

THE Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress will be held at the usual place near Waterloo, N. Y., on Saturday and Sunday, 12th and 13th days of June.

This meeting seeks to know no fellowship but the fellowship of Truth, no Church but the Church of Humanity, and invites to its deliberations all who do or would belong to this communion. There are signs of cheer in this time; the opportunities and encouragements for work are greater than ever before known, and it is hoped there will be a large gathering of those interested in this behalf for mutual counsel and co-operation.

The deliberations will dwell especially upon the religious aspects of Truth, its practical bearing upon the relations and forms of human life and activity.

Rev. Samuel J. May, Charles D. B. Mills, William J. Linton, Aaron M. Powell, Dr. Lydia A. Strowbridge, Charles Lenox Remond, Giles B. Stebbins and Geo. W. Taylor are expected to be present and address the meeting.

Communications for the meeting may be directed to Phebe B. Dean, Waterloo, N. Y.
Waferloo N. Y., May, 1869.

SPECIAL PREMIUM.—PHOTOGRAPH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WE have arranged to offer as a premium for subscribers for THE STANDARD a life-like, beautifully finished, medium-sized photograph of WENDELL PHILLIPS, made for us by a distinguished Boston artist. We have had many calls for photographs of Mr. Phillips, suitable for framing, which we have hitherto been unable to supply. We have at last a likeness of him which we pronounce eminently satisfactory, and which we think will prove to be so to his many friends by whom it will be desired. Each photograph will have also Mr. Phillips' autograph. To all our subscribers who renew their own subscriptions and remit for one new subscriber ($6); or to any one who sends us the names of two new subscribers for one year ($6), we will forward, post paid, a copy of Mr. Phillips' photograph, the retail price of which is $2.50.

WE will send post-paid, to any one renewing a subscription for THE STANDARD and sending one new subscriber ($6); or remitting for two new subscribers ($6), copy of ANNA E. DICKINSON'S new book, 301 pages, just issued by Messrs. Ticknor and Fields, entitled "WHAT ANSWER?" As with her voice, so with her pen, Miss Dickinson pleads eloquently the cause of the still oppressed colored people. The story is one of thrilling interest, characterized by a noble purpose and high moral tone. It deserves, and will doubtless achieve, a wide circulation. Our premium offer puts it within easy reach of thousands.

WE continue to offer to old subscribers who renew their subscriptions and send one new subscriber for the year ($6); or to any who will send two new subscribers ($6); either of the following very desirable books:

Wendell Phillips' "Speeches, Lectures and Letters," 562 pages, with steel portrait—price $2.50.

Lydia Maria Child's Romance of the Republic, 442 pages—price $2.50.

Caroline H. Dall's "College, Market and Court, 498 pages—price $2.50.

CLUB RATES.

We will hereafter send *The Radical* ($4.00 a year) and THE STANDARD, each one year to old, or new subscribers, the two for $5.50;—

The Woman's Advocate ($2.00 a year) and THE STANDARD, the two for $4.00;—

The Herald of Health ($2.00 a year) and THE STANDARD, the two for $3.50;—

Merry's Museum ($1.50 a year) and THE STANDARD, the two for $3.50.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

In making remittances for subscriptions, always procure a draft on New York, or a *Post-Office Money Order*, if possible. Where neither of these can be procured, send the money, *but always in a* REGISTED *letter*. The registration fee has been reduced to *fifteen cents*, and the present registration system has been found by the postal authorities to be virtually an absolute protection against losses by mail. *All* Postmasters are obliged to register letters whenever requested to do so.

Subscribers to THE STANDARD in Philadelphia and vicinity, will please take notice that they can renew their subscriptions as well by sending their money *direct* to Aaron M. Powell, Editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 39 Nassau street, New York City," as to me, and that it may cost less in money and time to do so.

E. M. DAVIS.

FEB. 16, 1869.

TO ALL IN WANT OF HELP.

THE undersigned being well acquainted with the wants and condition of the Freedmen of Washington, D. C., would like to secure compensating labor and homes for men, women and children from the North.

Persons wishing help, will please enclose the money necessary to pay the fare and $1.00 for office fees.

Refer to E. M. Davis, Philadelphia, Hon. S. J. Bowen, Mayor to Washington.

G. F. NEEDHAM,
425 Massachusetts Avenue.

I recommend all who want help to write to Needham. He is impelled to do what he offers to, from the interest he has in the freed people.

E. M. DAVIS.

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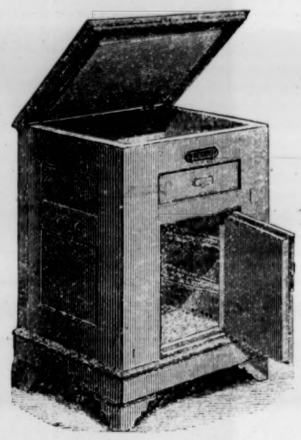

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DR. E. D. HUDSON.

FOR ARTIFICIAL LIMBS (Legs and Arms.)

By the International Jury, PARIS, 1867.

LE CONSEILLER D'ETAT, Commissaire General, F. LE PLAY. | LE MINISTRE, Vice-Pres't de la Com. Imperiale, CE. FOREADE.

REPORT OF U. S. COMMISSIONER, T. W. EVANS, M. D., MEMBER OF THE JURY OF THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION, TO THE UNITED STATES. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF STATE. To wit:

DR. HUDSON has received from the IMPERIAL COMMISSION a BRONZE MEDAL and DIPLOMA, for the limbs sent by him, which have been particularly admired, and are in execution unquestionably the most remarkable in the Exposition." (The only Limbs which had the award of the Medal.)

TESTIMONIAL OF THE
CONFERENCE
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL SANITARY COMMISSION
AT THE EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE, PARIS, 1867.

"IN THE NAME OF THE CONFERENCE OF ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE RELIEF OF WOUNDED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS,

"I have the honor to inform you that a MEDAL has been awarded to you, by the Assembly of Delegates at the Distinguished Seance of the 31st of August, 1867—for the services which you have rendered to the cause of Universal Humanity.
PARIS, September 8th, 1868.

COUNT SERURIER,
Commissioner General of the International Exposition, President of the Conference.

COUNT G. de CHABOLY, T. GAUVIY. } General Secretaries.

To Monsieur Hudson."

E. D. HUDSON, M. D., 696 BROADWAY, N. Y.
Specialty of Mechanical Surgery, and Artificial Legs and Arms.
21—tf

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"THE MORNING STARS."
A BOOK OF RELIGIOUS SONGS
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The authors believed that by recourse to the FOLK SONGS OF GERMANY,—a rich mine of sweet and simple melodies hitherto but little worked,—music at once very easy, very attractive, beautiful and of high order, might be placed in the hands of children; and from a careful examination of about four thousand of these GERMAN FOLK SONGS, the present collection has been culled. Great pains has been taken to put the music into proper *keys*, for children's usage. It is our experience that music for children is very generally written too high. A child's voice should seldom be carried above D; and as a rule, it cannot be maintained for a number of bars on C or D without flatting. Accordingly, we have so selected the keys that only a very few melodies, in which it was impossible to avoid it, will be found to run above D, in any par of them.

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[*Continued from first page*].

all that is terrible ; we have admired, and sympathized, and stood almost reverentially before them. I want to suggest, friends, that we should do something more than that to-day—try if we cannot *imitate* them. The days have gone by when to be an abolitionist in the North costs one the demolition of his house, costs one the loss of his reputation. We do not come to an Anti-Slavery meeting now by the light of burning halls or dodging the missiles of a mob, as we used to do. Anti-Slavery calls now for no such sacrifices from us ; and if we look back through all the history of this Society, we shall not find, most of us, (there are some who will), remembering all that our anti-slavery work has cost us, that we have been called upon to make such sacrifices as we have heard described this morning. Our work is drawing to a close—narrowing done to a point ; at least, so we confidently believe and trust. The work before us now is to promote the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. When that is done, we consider, with the present light around us, that the topstone of the Temple of American Freedom will be laid with shoutings of glory. We hope that the next time we come together, it will be to hold a grand jubilee, and to give thanks with all our souls that the work of nigh forty years is done, and well done.

Our work to promote the ratification of the amendment is chiefly to be done by sustaining THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. We shall have lectures abroad to advocate it ; we shall speak and write for it as we have opportunity ; but our great instrument for that work, as you know, is THE STANDARD. Therefore, it seems to me that our work is very clearly defined to-day : that we must give all possible support to that paper. Those who can and will may write for it ; all of us can give money to its treasury. We must hold it up and enable it to speak the truth on this point until this work is done ; and here to-day it seems to me that what we have mainly to do is to raise all the money we can and put it into the treasury to support THE STANDARD, possibly but a few months longer, until this amendment is ratified. You do not need any argument to show you how wonderfully potent its voice is in this regard. You have heard it from members of Congress and from all quarters, and you do not doubt it, any more than I do. Beyond that, THE STANDARD is, as has been said, a moral educator of the nation. The principles underlying all the teachings of THE STANDARD (I am not speaking extravagantly) are the highest possible moral principles, the principles which Christ came from Heaven to teach. A clergyman, not long ago, read in my hearing the closing paragraphs of one of Mr. Phillips' editorials or speeches,—such utterances, you know, as THE STANDARD publishes from week to week, and which the papers all over the land copy,—not always, I fear, so much from reverence for the truth, as admiration for the manner in which it is set forth,—and when he had finished, I quietly said, "That is about as good Christianity as we hear in most of our pulpits"—thinking I had made a very moderate statement. He was surprised, and said, "Why, that is Christianity ; that is the essence of Christianity." And so it is.

You all know what THE STANDARD is. I don't suppose it needs any eulogy from me. But perhaps you do not always consider that it is doing another work than even this work in which you are engaged. It is throwing light on the path you are to tread after you get through this work. It is building up the causeway over which all true reforms are to roll. It is necessarily so. And you are now, in this work, sowing the seed of harvest, which you are to reap and your successors are to reap in all generations to come. Therefore, we cannot over-estimate the importance of contributing as largely as we can possibly afford to the support of THE STANDARD during the few remaining months that we shall have occasion to use it to promote the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. Friends, can we not all double the pledges and subscriptions we have made to it? Would it be a great effort for any one of us? But a little while longer shall we need to contribute to it. Even if it requires the sacrifice of some luxury or some comfort, even, it is a little thing compared with the sacrifices we have admired so much in others ; yes, it is a little thing compared with the sacrifices which many of us made in years gone by.

As I said, I trust the next time we meet it will be at that glorious jubilee when we shall look into each others' faces and lift enraptured eyes to Heaven, thanking God for the way by which he has led us up to complete victory. Then I think every dollar we have put into the treasury of this Society will seem in our eyes a sanctified dollar, and we shall not regret any effort we have made to make our subscriptions large. I trust we shall have the satisfaction of feeling, that the Society does not dissolve with any unliquidated debts. If we can then but feel that we have really done with our hand and purse all that we could do, all that could rightfully be expected of us to do, I am sure it will enable us to join in the song of jubilee with lighter hearts than we can now imagine ; and if, looking back to this day, we remember that we did endeavor, each of us, to double the contribution which we made yesterday, I am sure we shall not regret it ; I am sure it will add pleasure to the feelings of that day. I would not ask any of you to do what I would not willingly do myself. Remembering that this is probably the last occasion of this kind on which we shall meet together, I think we might make some extra effort ; and remembering, also, that in working to complete the slave's full redemption, and enable him to stand on the same basis as the white man, politically and legally, we are also doing a work for mankind everywhere, making our future toil easier, and shedding the light of Christianity bright before us on the paths of future years.

PROF. WILCOX, OF WASHINGTON.—Will you pardon me for saying, that the remarks that have been made to-day and yesterday in reference to discontinuing this Society have caused me more earnest thought than even the reports in the morning papers in regard to the persecutions and murders at the South. It seems to me that this Society, as a band of reformers whose banner has been flying for nearly half a century, have this question to consider, most earnestly : Suppose we settle this question of political power by the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, is that all we can do? Does any member of this Society ask himself or herself the question as to where the real power, the real element of progress that is to advance civilization on this planet resides? Is it in the State? Is it in the Church? Is it in the clergy? Is it in science? Is it in what is called *par excellence*, society? Is there power there? Yes, a power of destruction ; a power that has made this organization a political, a moral and a religious necessity. Have you got any help from either of those sources until you could do without it? Every particle of influence that they could exert for the last forty or fifty years has been exerted to the demolition of the very fundamental principle which we so eulogize on the Fourth of July. And what is there in any of these institutions, or what do they propose to do ; that in the eyes of a practical man is calculated to lift your civilization one inch beyond the place it now occupies? There is nothing there. In vain we look for it. All that is to make humanity what humanity can be, must come from outside those institutions, and work in spite of them. Now, where is that power? You have only to look back at the apostles of this very organization. They had to put these institutions under their feet. They saw that instead of their being a help, they were a hindrance only, and that, before they could put in motion any effective lever towards the emancipation of the slave from even his physical chains, they must cast off certain chains from their own spirits. That is the law of the Divine economy, that he who shall work for the emancipation of another from chains, shall also cast off his own fetters.

Mr. Douglass stated admirably, last evening, the reason why this Society should be continued: that if slavery had died a natural death, that is, if it had been abolished by the force of moral convictions, we might disband. Then, as Mr. Foster said, the discipline that the members of this Society have had in the school of reform gives them a power possessed nowhere else. Is that to be laid aside when the Fifteenth Amendment is secured? Are we then, as reformers, to fold our hands and sit down? Why, as your President has said, there is the capital and labor question, which is going to press upon us like an avalanche, and there is no power in labor, no power in capital that can reconcile the two, and say to their conflicting waves, "peace, be still!" That higher element of liberty, that deeper knowledge of man's nature that comes from its interior inspection alone can grapple with these elements and mould them to its will. This power will be found nowhere else but in the men and women who have shown their faithfulness in fighting this tremendous battle for the emancipation of the slave.

You call yourselves the American Anti-Slavery Society; and in its inception it had a specific object, and it was right that that specific object should concentrate the interest, the prayers, and the efforts in every direction of the men and women engaged in it. But in the progress of ideas, we see that the principle has a broader application than that which covers four millions of black men and women. We profess to be Christians, most of us. There was one writer who said the time should come when "every man should sit under his own vine and fig tree, with none to molest or make him afraid." We know the great and grand idea that is conveyed in that prophetic and figurative generalization, an eternal truth. We see that it is possible of fulfilment. But if we stop where we are, or when we put the keystone in the arch, will that fulfilment come? There is work yet to be done, and the reformer is to die with his armor on.

GILES B. STEBBINS.—When this Society dies, I suppose the individual activity of its members will not. I suppose they cannot but go on and work in the same spirit that has marked their labors for so many years. I hope to see THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, which has so ably served its purpose as an organ of the Society, continued after that Society shall dissolve, under its present management, for I think it could not be bettered. It will not be, of course, the organ of this Society, but I trust it will be the medium through which shall be uttered the best, the highest, and most advanced thought of the age, on all questions of political, social and spiritual reform and freedom.

But I rise to offer this resolution :

Resolved, That we deem it of great importance that the freedmen of the South should be land-holders, and would urge them to make constant efforts to that end; and we would also call the attention of capitalists to the importance of organized efforts for the same purpose, and urge upon Congress the adoption of such a land policy as will aid in having the public lands of the South owned by working occupants, not only freedmen, but others, irrespective of race.

I think that such a word as that, going out from this Society, would stimulate the colored men to efforts to obtain land, and I think it might have an influence upon capitalists, who ought to be awake to the importance of making wise efforts in that direction. I think it is also due to Hon. George W. Julian, the able and vigilant Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands : I know that he is anxious to do all that can be done to have the people of this country the owners, in small quantities, of the public land of this country, and I know from him personally that a large portion of the public land of the South is in such shape that Congress may so arrange their land policy as to bring this public land within the reach of the landless people of the South. I know also that there is a powerful organized effort in the South to-day to keep the freed people landless,—and that effort should be thwarted.

I learned some time since, from Senator Harris, of Louisiana, how to succeed with the freed people. He said: "We have on our plantations three or four hundred freed people ; we furnish them all the rations we agree to, pay them their money at the time we agree to, and never have any trouble with them. You could hardly drive them off the plantations to-day." But where there is one just man like Senator Harris, there are scores of grasping, unjust rebels, who would wring the last drop of heart's blood out of the men and women they employ.

MR. PHILLIPS.—Such men are not always rebels.

MR. STEBBINS.—Not always, by any means.

One word in regard to the importance of this Fifteenth Amendment. I saw, a few weeks since, the Hon. Mr. Bedell, a member of Congress from one of the western parishes of Louisiana, whose term expired on the 4th of March last. He said that the freed people in his district are uniformly landless people, and of course, as landless poor men, they are subject to the absolute control of those who monopolize the land about them. He said that he had 2,400 majority in his parish when he was elected, and he had no doubt that, with a perfectly free election in the district, Gen. Grant's vote could have been larger than his ; but when the November election came on, although it was a peaceable election, no arms were displayed. Gen. Grant did not receive one single vote. Mr. Bedell told me that between April and November, a thousand freed people had been murdered in cold blood, and "order reigned in Warsaw."

Instead of the statements in the newspapers being exaggerations, I am satisfied we do not hear half the horrors that are perpetrated in the South ; and instead of these horrors having ceased, the narration of them in the newspapers has ceased, but the horrible work goes on ; and one great means of putting a stop to these atrocities, is to inaugurate all possible measures to plant the feet of the freed people firmly on land that they own. I hope, therefore, that the resolution I have offered will be adopted.

At the suggestion of the President, Mr. Stebbins assented to the incorporation of his resolution with the one already submitted on the same subject by the Executive Committee.

Prof. Wilcox spoke in advocacy of the passage of the resolution denouncing the proposition now before Congress to abolish elective government in the District of Columbia, describing at some length the machinery of government now in operation in the District, and showing that the abolition of elective government there, in the way proposed, would, as the resolution declares, "cheat the freemen of the District of their new-born freedom," and result in establishing the control of the rebel and disloyal element. He said that the true plan for the government of the District, and the one most in accord with the spirit of liberty, was the establishment of a territorial government.

On motion of Robert Purvis, Prof. Wilcox was added to the list of officers, as Vice-President for the District of Columbia.

MRS. HARPER.—I would like to ask Mr. Turner what can be done for the people of Georgia. I think our government ought to be wise enough to know its citizens, and strong enough to protect them. I would ask Mr. Turner what hope our people have, and what encouragement he met at Washington. It is no time to go to sleep.

MR. TURNER.—I will answer by suggesting two plans. If we can bring to bear an influence upon the President that will induce him to issue a proclamation giving power to the commanding general in that department to hold every neighborhood responsible, five mile or ten miles round, for every man that is killed, these murders would be stopped. One thing is sure : no black man is going to molest a white man, and every report that comes up here through the lying associated press to the effect that they do, you may know is a falsehood.

Then, again, several Congressmen have said to me, "Why don't you protect yourselves?" said I, "If you will give us the authority to it, by passing some act of Congress, we will do it. Put a few arms in our hands, and we will do it." "Oh, we can't do that." I suppose half a dozen Congressman have advised me to go back and tell the people to protect themselves ; but they will not say a word in Congress to that effect ; they will not give us the sanction of the necessary legislation. But if Congress will just give us some of the old rusty muskets that the colored men went through the war with and fought bravely, and tell us to protect ourselves, we will not need the strong arm of the government to protect us, we will do it ourselves.

Any person desiring to know the true situation of Georgia would do well to take the *American Union*, published at Macon, for which I am agent. That paper will certainly give you the facts, and you ought to read a paper published right in the heart of the South, which comes out with the plain facts.

W. P. POWELL.—For my part, I am utterly opposed to any fighting. We have had enough of that, I think if the government would protect the laborers of the South in their efforts to sustain themselves, they would be able to take care of themselves. I think we have a homestead law, which gives us the right to take land, but what we want is the efficient protection of law. We do not want any more class legislation. We want to lose ourselves among the people of the country—the skilled and unskilled labor of the country. We have skill ; we know how to cultivate the land. We have had enough of physical force. We want to settle down quietly and go to work, and we want the people of the United State to protect us in our labor.

MR. TURNER.—I do not make any request for muskets. I simply ask that the President hold the neighborhood responsible for every murder. I answered the question, "Why don't you protect yourselves?" by saying that if the government would give us muskets, we would defend ourselves. There would be an organization in six days, if it was know that we had arms.

MR. POWELL.—I do not think it is practicable to hold the neighborhood responsible. Look at New York City! There are outrages committed all over the city. Do we hold the neighborhood responsible? Did we hold the Fourth Ward responsible for the destruction of my property in 1863. It is preposterous to talk about that. We cannot make a certain circle responsible for any act ; we can only make the perpetrator responsible.

MR. TURNER.—When a man is killed in New York, you don't ask what his politics were, but you bring his murderer to justice.

MR. POWELL.—You can't get justice in New York City. A man is convicted or not according as he is a Democrat or Republican.

MR. TURNER.—About 289 Republicans, I believe, have been killed in Georgia, and the first white man is yet to be arrested and put in jail for it. The public sentiment is so adverse to Republicanism and to any man who professes Republicanism, that nobody thinks of arresting a man who kills a Republican. There is no more comparison between New York and our part of the country than there is between God and the devil.

The third resolution was then adopted, and also the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, as follows :

Resolved, That in our judgment, the government has not been sufficiently prompt and vigorous in its efforts to put a stop to the anarchy and bloodshed that reign so widely at the South—it has, in many sections, given no adequate protection to life and no sufficient punishment to daring crime; and that Congress itself was deeply in fault in adjourning without some earnest movement to quicken the steps of the Administration in this direction and make its policy more effectual:—as well as in leaving the rebellious mob of Georgia in nominal possession of that State.

Resolved, That in the ostracism and exclusive action of the most of the public houses in this city, toward the colored people, we see but too plainly the pro-slavery spirit of Southern Slavery, which fully justifies, the continued and earnest remonstrance of this Society.

Resolved, That we see with especial satisfaction that the Lieutenant Governor of a State, black though he be, can be courteously received in a New York Hotel—and since neither Church nor Press has yet roused itself to put an end to this heathenish and infamous spirit of caste, we trust that the blacks of the South will claim their full proportion of State offices, in order that Governors, having broken their way into Hotels, Churches, Lecture-rooms, and the other resorts of men, the private citizen who shares the color of the first champion may in time find admittance.

Resolved, That though we expect to see this inhuman and unchristian prejudice against race yield to the social and civil influences, which even now set against it, long before it shall have ceased in the churches and without their aid, still this does not lessen the guilt of the religious bodies which have so obstinately persisted in pandering to it.

The President then read the eighth resolution, as follows :

Resolved, That we see with delight the Abolition of Slavery by the Insurgent Patriots of Cuba and trust our government will give them prompt recognition; and we welcome the steps which Spain herself has taken in the same direction; hoping that she will recognize the liberty of others while struggling for her own.

W. J. LINTON.—I would inquire what steps Spain has taken in that direction. Spain has done absolutely nothing towards the abolition of slavery in Cuba, and will do nothing. The Republican party is in favor of abolition.

THE PRESIDENT.—Would an Amendment, that "we welcome the steps which the Republican party of Spain has taken," etc., accord with the fact?

MR. LINTON.—Yes, sir.

The amendment was adopted, and the resolution, in that form, passed.

The ninth resolution of the series was then read, as follows:

Resolved, That the reconstruction of the South rests on the education of the masses—and this on the introduction of the common school system which prevails at the North, which cannot live but in a closely settled community; hence the New England village must be introduced at the South, and in order to do that, the lands of the South must be open to purchasers in small lots. We urge the Government, therefore, to adopt a land policy which will secure this result.

DR. R. T. HALLECK.—I will mention, as an encouraging fact, that there are at present in the city certain gentlemen from Virginia, one of whom is the notorious Gen. Imboden, who are here for the purpose of commending the soil, climate and productions of that State to the industry of the North, with a view to inducing emigration, and the breaking up of those large plantations. They describe the feeling of the South as entirely in favor of Northern emigration, stating that the sentiment of the State is almost universally in favor of it. At the Farmers' Club, one of our correspondents from Virginia said that in certain counties it would not be safe for Southern men to settle, except in sufficient numbers to protect themselves. Gen. Imboden and his Southern friends said this was an entire mistake, and promised to verify their statement to-morrow afternoon before the Club. One of the arguments which was introduced by Gen. Imboden against that idea was this : He said, "Our presence here as agents to invite you to emigrate is *prima facie* evidence that our people are hospitably inclined towards you."

MR PHILLIPS.—I think the gentlemen to whom our friend refers are perfectly sincère, but the trouble lies deeper. For political purposes, hatred of the North has been instilled into the people until it has become ingrained in what little may be called the education of the South. The poor whites were taught it, for the purpose of making it possible to break up the Union, and the invention returns to plague the inventor to-day. You cannot reeducate these men in a moment. You have three or four millions of what we call the poor whites, who have been brought, in forty years, to think "Yankee" synonymous with "swindler," and "Northerner" to be synonymous with "enemy." You cannot take that conviction out of them. The landholders see very clearly that unless Northern capital and Northern hands will come down and help them, their case is desperate, and they would be very glad, if possible, to secure that aid. But the bull-dog you have taught for twenty years to spring at every passer-by cannot change his nature in a moment, and when a Northern man goes down there, the moment he is left unprotected, this inherent hatred, which is all the religion the South possesses, breaks out. I had a friend in Iowa who hired a plantation, and his partner was an Alabamian. He said the firm succeeded very well. He, being a Northern man, and once colonel of a colored regiment, obtained, with great ease, any number of colored laborers ; they trusted him and rallied round him. On the other hand, his partner saved the plantation experiment from the hatred of the embittered classes. To all intents and purposes, it was partially a Southern experiment. But neither the Northern man with his labor nor the Southern man with his investment could control the secesh element in the neighborhood, and so every three weeks they had a howling mob of half drunken fellows surrounding the house, who threatened to shoot him, etc. No danger, particularly, because their men were there, but a great annoyance, and, under other circumstances, a great danger. The ludicrous part of the story was this. I asked him why he was in Iowa. He said, "This annoyance was so constant, and it touched so nearly the edge of danger, that the wife of my Southern partner did not dare to live in the house. Well, as the mob was against me, it was thought if I came home for a month, and left him in charge, his wife might go there. So I am here, in order that my partner may have his wife." This circumstance shows that in half a dozen respectable families, there was a willingness to receive Northern enterprise and capital, but you cannot take up the other tier.

Is not that true, Mr. Simms?

MR. SIMMS.—That is true, sir.

The resolution was amended by adding a portion of Mr. Stebbins's resolution, "and we also call the attention of capitalists to the importance of organized efforts for the same purpose," and adopted as amended.

The remaining resolutions of the series were then read, as follows:

Resolved, That we denounce the proposition now before Congress to abolish elective government in the District of Columbia in whole or in part, as a plot to cheat the freemen of the District of their new-born freedom; and that we call on all true-hearted Senators and Representatives, especially those on the Committee on the District, to see that the crime does not stain the capitol of the Nation.

Resolved, That as in a Government like ours everything rests on public opinion, and as the vitally important social rights of the negro will never be granted him, nor his political rights, however guaranteed, be fully enjoyed, until an enlightened and Christian public opinion permeates and rules the Nation, we remind all Abolitionists that their work is not done until public opinion, impartial and rigidly just, protects all the rights of all human beings.

THE PRESIDENT.—There was a suggestion made in our sessions yesterday, that this last resolution apparently conflicted with the second resolution in which it was stated that we looked upon the Fifteenth Amendment as the keystone of the arch, the fulfillment of our pledge. It seems to me that the distinction is quite evident. As a Society, as an organized movement, we pledged to the negro race that our labor should effect a recognition of the black man's political equality with the white. That is the substance of our pledge. We go on and say that we will also aim to secure social and other privileges for the negro, but the normal essence of the pledge of the movement was to leave the negro race in circumstances to protect themselves like the whites. The Fifteenth Amendment, it seems to me, will reach that point. It will not cover social rights ; it will not cover church rights ; it will not cover the right to the lecture room. We shall have to wait for a generation or two. The white man cannot do it ; it is largely dependent on the efforts of the colored man himself. If Harris of North Carolina goes to the Senate of the United States, and really shows, as his friends say he will, that he can discuss a political question or a financial question as thoroughly as any other man there, he will have his due weight in the Senate. Brains will achieve and challenge their own place, the moment he is there. And if the colored race achieves wealth and culture, as a class, it will vindicate its place, especially with the ballot behind it. I look, therefore upon that resolution as referring to the continued obligation resting upon Abolitionists, individually, never to cease their individual and collateral work, in all the various forms in which a man can influence his times, to blot out the idea of race in the minds of the American people. Our friend Mr. Douglas said yesterday that he thought the South saw before we did the result of our principles. Perhaps the claim was true so far as disunion was concerned. South Carolina evidently saw, sooner than even the Abolitionists did, that disunion would be the ultimate resort of the Southern section of country. So far, Calhoun can claim the greater sagacity. I do not think, however, that the South saw, any earlier than the Abolitionists did, that the recognition of the political rights of the negro would result, almost inevitably, in the next direct step in his social and other forms of equality. I never remember the day since I joined the Anti-Slavery movement, in 1836, when it would not have been a heresy on our platform, promptly scouted, for any man to maintain that there ought not to be absolute social equality. Society grows out of merit and fitness, and we have always contended that the moment an Irishman or a black man or a German or a Chinese or anybody else proved himself fit for the enjoyments and the privileges of social life, able to make the contributions usual to it, he would be there and ought to be there ; and that any man who shut him out on account of his race, his origin, his previous occupation or state, or his color, was essentially an aristocrat, something that did not belong to the outgrowth of American civilization, alien to its central idea. I do not remember the day when the South anticipated us in that. I think men much less advanced than Abolitionists knew that. Except for a purpose, men do not deny the necessary consequences of their principles. In 1826-7 there was a discussion on the subject of slavery, and Tillingheast of Massachusetst, made a speech which was very strong on the subject of the right of the negro to his freedom. When he got through, an indignant Southerner exclaimed, "Why, sir, do you know what your principles lead to? If that is the doctrine, our black folks will cut our throats." The lazy Massachusetts man (he weighed 275) turned his head over his shoulder and said, "Why in God's name shouldn't they?" There was no honest denial of the inference. Now and then for the sake of a dodge, some particular section denied it.

I think, therefore, the claim of Mr. Douglass, that the South saw further than we did, was a little strained. I think we understood our own enterprise, and owned up to its natural results. If we are chargeable with any mistake, it is that we had too little confidence in the natural patriotism and intelligence ; we really believed that there was not love of liberty enough in the North, if the time even came, as it did in 1861, to meet the shock and survive it. I remember, in April, 1861, I doubted myself whether the North would not succumb ; whether, for the sake of peace, we would not give the South again *carte blanche*, to write the conditions ; and I think there was a moment when it hung in the balance whether we should not do that. I quite agree with Mrs. Foster that we do not owe the decision of that question to the Republican party. A large portion of them were ready to do anything that would save their hold on the nation. The solid, sound timber of the party was all right, but the whole front of it was not right ; and just at that critical moment, Stephen Douglass, a Democrat, owned up to the flag ; such men as Ben Butler tore away from their old predelictions and pledges, put the keys of their office in their pocket, and went up and claimed a commission. They said, the question is not now slavery, the question is the flag, and it was that ounce weight of Democratic emulation flung into the quivering scale that made the secession side kick the beam. I think that Gen. Grant, when he made his final report and resume of the war, allowed himself to slur Butler, forgot that there was a moment, long before the world, outside of Galena, had ever heard of Grant, and when there did not rest, either in his right hand or in his brains, the slightest opportunity to help the nation,—that there was a moment, along back in the spring of 1861, when Butler and a dozen men like him saved us the opportunity, (applause), gave us a chance to survive until Grant appeared. If those dozen Democrats had not risen superior to party, and from no love of liberty, but mere national pride, hastened to the support of the flag, I do not believe the North would have rallied. Then, when Butler went down and with his right hand squelched Baltimore, and with his left throttled New Orleans, he saved us twenty months, until the military genius of Sheridan, Sherman and Grant came to the front, (applause) ; and it becomes all these men, strong as they are, to remember the men who gave them *an opportunity to appear*. (Applause).

MARY GREW.—I think there are two very serious objections to the last resolution. As I understand the work of Abolitionists, it was to accomplish the abolition of American slavery, and not to "protect all the rights of all human beings." That is one objection. The other is, that with its obvious interpretations, it conflicts with the second resolution.

THE PRESIDENT.—Will you suggest a change.

MISS GREW.—I should leave out the word "abolitionist."

THE PRESIDENT.—"Friends of liberty."

MISS GREW.—Yes, sir, "friends of liberty." And then I want to say that our work as individuals is not done. I think it wise to suggest to the large class which this society has educated, that there is work lying ready to their hands broader than the work of this society, and which they are to remember in future years.

PROF. WILCOX.—It seemed to me the work of the Abolitionists was not done until all human beings had their rights.

MISS GREW.—This society was for the abolition of negro slavery on this continent and nothing else. If our friend is right, then we have got to take the woman question on our platform, the question of the Chinaman's rights, the labor question, and all other questions.

THE PRESIDENT.—We should make what is comparatively a small work primary and what is a larger work secondary. I have very little doubt that the Professor (he is a younger man than some of us) will live to see the day when he will find it as hard, in the face of a mob of this city, to argue the right of the Chinaman to the ballot, as we ever found it, in the worst days, to argue the right of the negro to his freedom. I think there are men now, twenty years old, who, before they are fifty, will see this nation convulsed by as angry and perilous a struggle to prevent the emigrants of Chinese blood from sharing the privileges of American citizenship as the struggle on the negro question in 1835 and 1852. It will be some years before it comes, but when China has flung half a million of emigrants on our shores, when the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains is covered with the contributions to the labor channels from the swarms of China, you will see the little seed that now shows itself in Pacific legislation grown into a large tree, and from those roots many and tall branches of mischief will grow. The next generation need not put off their armor, need not imagine that the heroic days of the Republic are over, that there is no necessity for martyrdom. The carrying out of our principle to its next application will be as difficult as our work has been ; it will be as much political suicide to accept it, as much "going to Coventry," socially, as much banishment from trade and the court-house, as it was with us. But then, that needs a special movement. Ours was directed to a certain thing ; that is ended. It includes the principle, but I would not drag in through the comparatively narrow door of the negro question, the much broader question, as I think it, which opens before us.

PROF. WILCOX.—My only desire was, that the moral capital of this Society should be preserved, and that the organization should go on. Instead of the work of this Society having been accomplished, it seems to me, in view of the facts to which you have alluded, that it is just on the threshold of its career. The negro question has been educating us for the larger work of which you speak, and for that reason it seemed to me that this Society, which has learned the lesson which this nation has not learned, that all caste is wrong, ought to continue its labors.

THE PRESIDENT.—I think moral capital consists in the men, and not in the organization. Let me illustrate. Some twenty years ago, we had a meeting in Boston to abolish the use of the whip in the navy. A merchant put his head in at the door of Tremont Temple, and he saw upon the platform Mr. Garrison, Mr. Francis Jackson, Mr. Samuel Philbrick, Mr. Ellis Gray Loring, the members of the Executive Board of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. "Oh," said he, "what's the use of my going in there? The same old fellows are at it. They will accomplish their work, of course, but I aint going to put myself into that set." It was not the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society that made him guarantee victory—it was the same old bald heads. It is whatever platform they sit on, not the name under which they sit. So I think that when the elements, which, as our friend the professor says, this Society has educated, come together, as they will, from natural affinity, for the next step, they will carry with them the moral prestige and the moral capital which previous successes and discipline have given them. But I do not think it would be necessary. I do not think, indeed, it would be logical, to continue the organization.

The resolution was amended by substituting for the words "all abolitionis," "all true Americans," and in that form adopted.

DR. HALLOCK.—You are right, sir. It is the men; it is not the organization. I was not aware that the Society was united to the abolition of negro slavery, it is so long since I have seen your organic law. Words acquire new significance always in the progress of ideas, and as the abolition of error, which is born of slavery, is what, as it seems to me, you as individuals are pledged to, it seemed to me there was some prestige attached to the old name; but I care nothing about that.

No man or woman has said it, but I seem to feel as though there were some of those who have borne this standard through so many years of trial who feel as if they would like to

> "Wrap the drapery of their couch about them,
> And lie down to pleasant dreams."

I want to say, my friends, that there is no such rest for us. We must still work on. We owe it to the age in which we live, to the ideas which have come to us as to nobody else, and to all the nations of the earth, for, outside of those holding these ideas and fundamental principles, there is no fulcrum for God Himself to place the lever of progress upon.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER then called up his resolution, offered at the morning session on Tuesday as follows :

Whereas, A homestead is the natural right of every human being, and

Whereas, The great mass of the recently emancipated slaves are by the laws of their respective States denied this right, therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon Congress immediately to adopt such measures of legislation as to break up the landed aristocracy of the South and place possession of a homestead within the easy reach of all.

The resolution was discussed at some length by Mr. Foster, C. C. Burleigh, A. M. Powell, W. P. Powell, and others, Mr. Foster urging the adoption of the resolution on the ground of right and expediency, and reiterating the argument in his speech at the previous meeting, while Mr. Burleigh and most of the other speakers took the ground that the subject, as presented in the resolution, was foreign to the Anti-Slavery platform.

Towards the close of the discussion, Mr. Phillips suggested the omission of the first sentence of the preamble, "A homestead is the natural right of every human being." To this Mr. Foster assented for the reason that the meeting was too small to commit the Society to anything new and important.

Mr. Burleigh then suggested that the phrase, "to break up the landed aristocracy of the South," be stricken out. He was very much in favor of it, but he should rather not vote to make it the special work of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. Foster objected to the amendment, on the ground that one important point was to call the attention of the American people to the fact that the land of the South is all held in large estates, just as it is in Great Britain.

Mr. Burleigh moved that the resolution be laid on the table, but the motion was lost.

The question was then put on the amendment striking out the words, "to break up the landed aristocracy of the South," and it was carried.

The question on the adoption of the resolution as amended, was put, and it was lost, Mr. Foster voting "No," explaining that all the life had been taken out of the resolution by the amendments, and he cared nothing about it.

The Society then adjourned.

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